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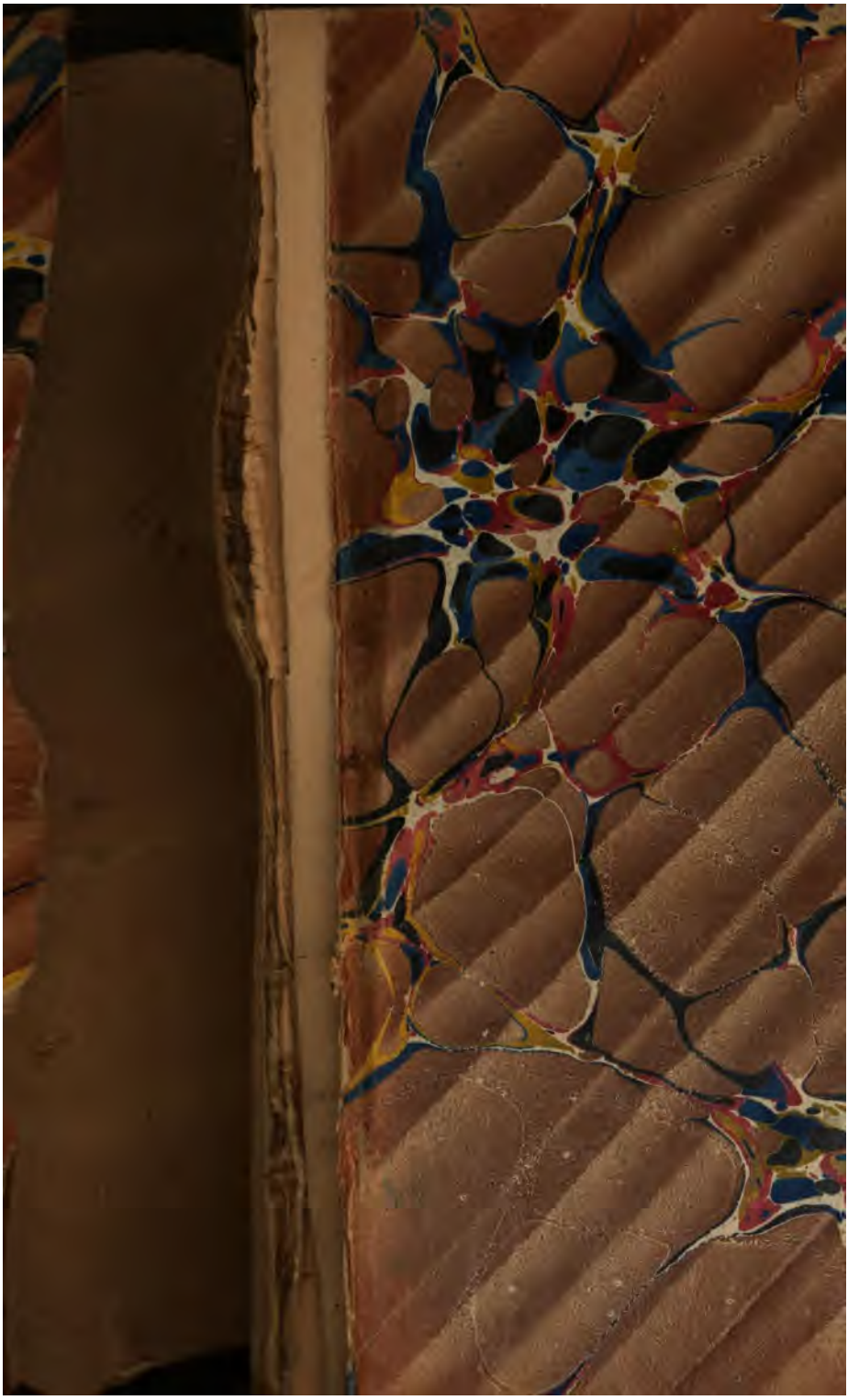
1907 – 1925
CLASS of 1927
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN



Contents.

your Fanning

Chas K. Burke

on the projected union

ents for and against the Union

by Secretary Cooke.

nion neither necessary or expedient

for Ireland.

y to a Pamphlet entitled

Arguments for and against an Union

by Richd Jebb Esqr

es on Arguments for & against

an Union

addressed to Edward Cooke Esqr

Secretary at War

address to the People against

a Union

ons against a Union

nnected Hints

ations on a Pamphlet

hts on a Union by Spencer

to Joshua Spencer

DA
949.
A3

SECOND EDITION.

THE UNION.

CEASE YOUR FUNNING.

OR,

THE REBEL DETECTED.

"Oh that mine Enemy would write a Book!"

DUBLIN:
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1798.

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Plainfield
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Ceaſe your Funning.

I LOVE wit as much as any man, but a joke may certainly ſometimes be carried too far.—I have never ſubmitted to the juſtice of Lord Shafteſbury's fanciful poſition, that *ridicule is the teſt of truth*, and I own I think its application is peculiarly offenſive when political ſubjects of the deepeſt and moſt ſerious importance, are treated with idle levity and buffoon irony.—Theſe ſentiments have been principally excited by reading a pamphlet entitled ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST AN UNION CONSIDERED.—The Author of this work has evidently written after the model of ſome of Swift's lighter compoſitions; a ſtyle which in my apprehenſion has never till now been ſucceſsfully imitated, tho' attempted with ſome talent by the ſuppoſed annotators of the late Alderman George Faulkner, and in ſome few other inſtances.

This ſtile conſiſts altogether in the art of ſup-

 porting

porting in a ſtrain of grave irony the oppoſite of the opinion which you mean to eſtabliſh. It is a good-humoured application of the argument called by logicians *argumentum ad abſurdum*; but whether it partakes more of jeſt or ſophiſm, I again proteſt againſt the uſe of either upon ſubjects of national importance and public concern. I ſhall briefly enumerate a few of the moſt prominent artifices by which the Author of this work, who I am convinced is either a member of Oppoſition or an abſolute United Iriſhman, endeavours by an affected recommendation of the meaſure to cry down and depreciate the projected Union, the only chance of this country's ſalvation; premiſing that, in order to give a higher reliſh to his ridicule, he has had the addreſs to circulate a report with very ſucceſsful induſtry that the work in queſtion is the production of an Engliſh gentleman of conſiderable talents who is an Iriſh member of Parliament, and in high official ſituation in Dublin Caſtle. Indeed ſuch has been the prevalence of this report, and ſo well ſimulated is the maſk aſſumed, that on the firſt peruſal I was ſcarcely able to diſtinguiſh whether the Author was in earneſt or not, and I am credibly informed that to this hour ſeveral well-meaning people continue in the erroneous opinion that he was ſo.

I do

I do not pretend to trace the progreſs of this facetious writer regularly from page to page, but ſhall point out a few of his topics which appear to me ſufficient to detect at once the duplicity of the ſtyle and the depth of the intention. He affects with great appearance of gravity throughout the entire pamphlet to denounce the exiſtence of the Iriſh Parliament as the cauſe of the late rebellion and invaſion, and he draws from theſe principles once eſtabliſhed an inevitable concluſion that the return of ſuch calamities is only to be prevented by the annihilation of the cauſe of them. Here, indeed, *latet anguis in Herbâ.* This is the very language of the United Iriſhmen.—The ſame poſitions, the ſame inferences, are to be found faintly viſible in the ſpeeches of all the Oppoſition members in England and Ireland, and glaringly conſpicuous in every number of the Preſs, and Union Star; avowing themſelves in the confeſſions of Doctor M'Nevin, proclaiming themſelves in the manifeſtos of Arthur O'Connor. Is it not evident then that the Author in queſtion is ſuch as I have deſcribed him?—Is it not evident that by inſidiouſly inferring the neceſſity of an Union from the corruption of the Iriſh Legiſlature, he in fact directs the attention of this deluded nation at one and the ſame moment to the pretence of a Reform and the project of a Separation?—He never

never imputes the late calamities of this country to any thing but Parliament, and ſo far from accuſing the prevalence of French principles or the extravagance of French ambition as inſtrumental to our misfortunes, he never ſpeaks of that abandoned nation without partiality and panegyric. He cannot expect that ſo flimſy an artifice muſt not be ſeen through by every diſcerning man. Every ſuch man knows that his aſſertions and his arguments are equally unfounded, that his Majeſty has every year ſince his acceſſion, returned thanks to the legiſlature, for the patriotiſm and loyalty of their conduct, and that both Lord Cornwallis and Lord Camden, have repeatedly declared (from the throne) that the diſcomfiture of the diſaffected and rebellious, was entirely owing to the virtue, ſpirit, and ſagacity of Parliament. It is well known that if it was not a good Parliament, it would never paſs the intended Union, which is to be the *ſalvation of the country*, and which there is very little doubt, will be paſſed by a great majority—notwithſtanding the ſly oppoſition, and affected ſupport, of ſuch wolves in ſheep's clothing, as the author of the pamphlet in queſtion.

But this writer knew very well that his infe-

rence

rence was a *non ſequitur*; that in truth the Union is to be conceded to Ireland, becauſe the Parliament is a good one, and deſerves to go to a better place—and that even if the Legiſlature, as he inſinuates, was the cauſe of our misfortunes, it evidently could not improve our condition, to remove theſe repreſentative delinquents into a more remote theatre for the exhibition of their depravity, and give new temptation and opportunity to tranſgeſs at a diſtance from the controul and cenſure of their conſtituents; he ſaw plainly, that every thinking mind would be ſtruck by the diſproportion of the remedy to the evil, and would of itſelf precipitate into the real concluſion—that ſo abandoned a legiſlature could only be corrected by radical reform, or complete diſſolution. Thus have I ſatisfactorily proved, in this inſtance, that a concealed United Iriſhman has jeſuitically aſſumed the ſtyle and character of a loyal Engliſhman, who does honour to our country by repreſenting it, for the baſeſt and worſt of purpoſes.

It providentially happens, that the beſt concerted and beſt executed fraud cannot long remain undiſcovered, and frequently is the inſtrument of diſcovering itſelf. Thus, reader, it is worth obſerving, how artfully this diſaffected

ſcribbler

ſcribbler introduces an eulogy upon the French Republic. Even the incorporating Union, *which is to be the ſalvation of the country*, he affects to recommend principally upon the example of France, well knowing that this ſalutary meaſure ſtands independently upon its own intrinſic merits, and really ſeeking to depreciate its excellence by putting it upon an improper footing. Vide page 8 of this work, where you may find theſe words:—"*France has not only united to herſelf, and incorporated a great addition of territory, but has rendered abſolutely dependent on her will almoſt all the ſmaller ſtates which ſurround her.*" Mark the vile and profligate inſinuation, that the conſequence of our Union muſt be an abſolute dependence of Ireland upon the will of England, whereas, every unprejudiced man knows, that, in fact, an Union is the only thing which can ſecure the independence of Ireland, and enſure the ſalvation of the country. He proceeds—"*Geneva is incorporated, Savoy is incorporated, all the Auſtrian provinces in Flanders, all the German ſtates on this ſide of the Rhine are incorporated, Spain is ſubject,*" *&c. &c.* It would be diſguſting to tranſcribe more of this nauſeous hypocriſy. The reader has already perceived the drift of it. In the firſt place, it ſeeks, by theſe pretended compariſons, to excite an idle national pride, and to ſuggeſt to Ireland how little her caſe reſembles that of Geneva,

neva, (which contains about 25,000 inhabitants) or Savoy, or any petty province, or conquered enemy. But Ireland will not be diverted from her great object by ſuch ſilly ſophiſm; ſhe knows her own greatneſs and diſſimilitude to thoſe affronting caricatures, and ſhe adopts the Union upon its own intrinſic merits, and *becauſe it is certainly to be the ſalvation of the country.* The ſecond object is not leſs miſchievous, and indeed it was ſcarcely to be expected that any man could have the audacity to pronounce, even under the maſk of this ſcribe, an exaggerated and fulſome panegyric upon the enemies of his country. We all know very well for what purpoſes certain perſons thought it proper to magnify all the exploits of the French. The invincibility of their troops was a conſtant theme of declamation with the paragraph writers of the Preſs, and other coadjutors of this pamphleteer, at the time thoſe troops were impatiently expected for the invaſion of this country, and now that the *Great Nation* has been defeated in her attempt to effect *an incorporating Union* with Ireland, the ſame gentry find it expedient to renovate the hopes of their party after the late diſappointment, and the wretch whom I am now employed in detecting, in his pretended recommendation of an Union, abſolutely adopts the cant of French phraſeology, and talks of eſtabliſhing an united empire, *one*

and indiviſible.—Vide page 9. Nor are theſe the only inſtances in which the rebel vocabulary breaks through, and expoſes the hypocrite. In page 11, the gentleman has thought proper to ſay—"*The king of England reſides in another kingdom—the councils of the government of Ireland are framed in the Britiſh cabinet—the government of Ireland is actually adminiſtered by a Britiſh Lord Lieutenant, who diſtributes the patronage of the Crown—the Iriſh Parliament is ſubject to Britiſh influence, and near one million of the rents of this kingdom are annually exported to abſentees—nor can this inconvenience ceaſe whilſt affairs remain as at preſent.*" It ſometimes happens to a man, on hearing particular things, to fancy he has heard them before, and to aſk himſelf, where did I meet this laſt? Juſt ſo did I feel upon peruſing this paſſage. I rubbed my eyes, but found it was not a dream; for, on taking down an old file of the Preſs, which was my part of the plunder in ranſacking a rebel's houſe as a yeoman, I found not only the ſentiments, but the identical phraſes. The weak argument by which he would thus injure the cauſe of Union is this—that if Engliſh influence at preſent predominates, the tranſplantation of our legiſlature will remedy the evil, and power, conſequence, and government, will revert into Iriſh channels once more. He knew ſuch an inference could not be ſwallowed by any man at the outſide

of

of Swift's hoſpital, and thus, in fact, wounds the cauſe, by an affectation of unſkillfully defending it. He knows it is his premiſes that are falſe, that they are the mere cant and fabrication of the United Iriſhmen, that Engliſh influence does not predominate here, and that, in fact, an Union is made neceſſary by the unpliant and ſtubborn independence of the Iriſh parliament, as he is forced afterwards to admit and to exemplify by the muliſh reſiſtance in which the ſaid parliament counteracted the intereſts of the empire upon the queſtions of the Regency, and Commercial Propoſitions.—*Vide page* 12 *and* 13. Every one knows, that after an Union ſuch miſchievous inſtances can never occur again, that this is the real motive for the meaſure, and therefore it was neceſſary for this cunning incendiary to throw duſt in our eyes upon the ſubject. I ſhall no longer, by diſguiſing my ſentiments, follow the example of this ſophiſt, whom I reprobate. I have hitherto hinted my opinion of what he is, and ſhall now boldly avow my ſentiments as to who he is. I have conſulted ſeveral eminent political and literary perſonages, who all agree with me in diſcovering in legible characters the principles and ſtyle of a certain democratic counſellor, the well known author of *Hurdy Gurdy, and the Old Lion of England*, and who has recently experienced the lenity of govern-

ment, in being ſuffered to baniſh himſelf and for the ſake of his health, to make Liſbon the ſcene of his exile. For ſhame, *Mr. Sargent!* Is this gratitude? Is this honor? Is this a return for the mercy extended to you? And had you no other way of thanking my Lord Cornwallis, than by oppoſing the wiſeſt meaſure of his government, and by making a travelly and caricature of his Secretary, the vehicle of your malignity? —This is one of the many proofs that rigid and effectual juſtice ought, long ſince, to have been executed upon the Author of the pamphlet in queſtion.

It is almoſt below criticiſm to notice the puerile and ſchool-boy allegories, tropes, and metaphors of this author. Such, if a writer was ſerious, might be conſidered as innocent relaxations from reaſoning, and ſometimes happy, though light, illuſtrations of argument; but when a gibing ſatyriſt wiſhes to counteract this great nation, in her ſtruggle for ſuch a conſtitutional bleſſing as the Union, it is evident that he muſt intend to ridicule both the country and the meaſure, by comparing her ſucceſſively to the Seven United Provinces, to the Sabines, to a lady going to be married, a trader going into partnerſhip, and an aukward booby commencing his education. To the following paſſage I am not able, with candour, to deny the merit of wit:

If

If any perſon has a ſon, uneducated, unimproved, and injured by bad habits and bad company, in order to remedy theſe imperfections, would it not be his firſt endeavour to eſtabliſh him in the beſt ſocieties, and introduce him into the moſt virtuous, the moſt poliſhed, and moſt learned company, and if he could once reconcile him to ſuch companies, and teach him to reliſh their converſation, would he not be certain of his ſon's improvement, and of his finally turning out to his credit and ſatisfaction.—(*Vide page* 8.)—This I admit to be witty, irreſiſtably amuſing; no gravity can withſtand the idea of Old Ireland going to ſchool to England; but while I pay this juſt tribute to the humour of the writer, I once again, and once for all, proteſt and exclaim, againſt the uſe of wit upon ſuch occaſions.—I truſt there is too much good ſenſe, or (as the Rt. Hon. the Attorney General ſays,) ſpirit and honor, in this nation, to be diſguſted, or in any other way diverted, from the great object of an incorporating Union, either by any ludicrous or affrontive ſimiles, or by the affectation of uſing weak and trifling arguments in ſupport of it.—The real argument in ſupport of it, ſtands upon a rock, and none but cloven-footed traitors pretend there is any other;—I wiſh it was the only, becauſe I am ſure it is the beſt, argument ever advanced upon the ſubject, and that is, *that it will certainly be the ſalvation of the country.*

Another topic of this work, I cannot paſs by with

with the ſlight cenſure reluctantly impoſed upon pardonable wit, and amuſing bagatelle. It is of a more ſerious complexion, and betrays the ſuppreſſed United Iriſhman in every feature. This Gentleman affects to recommend the Union (but *non tali auxilio, &c.*) as if it would preclude the poſſibility of any future rebellion at home, or invaſion from abroad.—If we believe him, the *exiſtence of the Iriſh Parliament conſtitutes a diſunited ſtate of the Britiſh Empire, which leaves a particular part of it open to the attacks of France, and if that avenue of diſunion ſhould be cloſed, then, &c. &c.*—(*Vide page* 9.) Now we all know, that though an Union will certainly be the ſalvation of the nation, yet it is impoſſible that a new modification of a moral relation, can produce any change in the phyſical ſituation of the country. Under every poſſible mode of connexion, the coaſt will remain in the ſame geographical poſition as to France, and as to the probability of internal diſſention, the fooliſh malecontents of this iſland, may, perhaps, be recruited by ſome more fooliſh malecontents, whom this ſalutary meaſure of an Union may diſguſt, in conſequence of ſuch inflammatory productions as the Pamphlet in queſtion. Therefore we muſt admit, that though an Union will certainly be the ſalvation of the country, yet it is poſſible, and in *rerum natura* that after it is accompliſhed, there *may be* ſuch a thing as rebellion and invaſion. What then does this

Judas

Judas mean ? Evidently to lull us, and England, into a fatal ſecurity on this important ſubject :— To perſuade England of the phyſical impoſſibility of ſuch events, and to give France an opportunity to elude our invincible fleets, and once more annoy our domeſtic peace ;—but it is impoſſible I truſt that the French can be ſo eaſily gulled ; they have already ſuffered pretty ſmartly by taking the advice of our Author and his auxiliaries, and I appeal to every reaſonable man, whether there is not every probability that even after an Union the gallant and generous nation of England will make upon a ſimilar emergency as great, or nearly as great efforts to ſave this country from invaſion as it did before ſuch an event was in contemplation. As all the Iriſh militia will neceſſarily and *ipſo facto* become Engliſhmen, and the Proteſtants become the majority of our people upon the eſtabliſhment of the Union, (vide page 26) it will of courſe be uſeleſs to ſend over the Engliſh militia as heretofore, and therefore probably that may not be done, but I really cannot ſee why the Engliſh navy ſhould not fail to our aſſiſtance after this deſirable event, —we know it did ſo before very effectually, and therefore I think I may juſtly conclude that as an Union was not then found neceſſary to bring the Engliſh navy to our ſuccour, ſo that (as far as men may conjecture about futurity) there is no great probability that there is any thing in an

Union

Union which will make it *impoſſible* for the ſame thing to happen again.

I paſs by the idle and intentionally feeble inference drawn from the preference which the United States of America gave to an incorporating union over a federal one: but as I paſs, muſt obſerve upon the artifice which this ſly gentleman diſplays in recommending upon all occaſions the example of avowed republicans to this loyal nation. However, let me juſt hint how little analagous the caſes are: in the firſt place, after the ſucceſs of the rebel arms all the States of America ſtarted upon equal terms—no one had any thing to give up to another—there was, therefore, no *ſtratum* for the benefits of an incorporating union, whereas in our caſe Ireland has an independent Legiſlature eſtabliſhed for many centuries to ſurrender, and muſt naturally expect the reſulting benefits to be exactly in proportion to the ſacrifice made, and perhaps it is owing to this very circumſtance that America, notwithſtanding all the advantages of an incorporating union, and the interpoſition of the Atlantic, has remained ſubject to French cabal and intrigue and all the miſchiefs reſulting from them; whereas in Ireland, under all its peculiar circumſtances, an incorporating union will *certainly be the ſalvation of the country*.—This Man in the Maſk has really paſſed by the only national ana-

logy

logy applicable. The caſe of Corſica is preciſely in point. Upon the acquiſition of that iſland in this war, England was weak enough to eſtabliſh a connection with it upon ſuch federal principles as the preſent connection with Ireland—an Engliſh Viceroy and Corſican Parliament; and what was the event? The Corſican gem dropped out of the Britiſh Crown almoſt as ſoon as it was ſet there, whereas had the union been incorporate, without any Parliament at all, it would certainly, as in Ireland, *have been the ſalvation of the country.*

I know very well what he means by the introduction of Scotland. I know he would ſuggeſt that England is divided from it as it was from Mercia by a river, and from Ireland by a ſea; but the fallacy of this dark and malignant inſinuation is plain to the ſimpleſt underſtanding. If the truth be once eſtabliſhed, diſtance cannot affect it. If it be true that an incorporated union is advantageous for countries divided by a river half a mile broad, the addition of another half mile will not alter the moral, though it does the phyſical, poſition. Therefore you may add *ad infinitum*, &c. &c. Q. E. D. But as the Author remarks, example is the beſt of arguments, and what more pregnant example can be conceived than the caſe of America. America was united to England by an incorporated union, that is,

by an Engliſh Government without any Parliament except that at Weſtminſter, and though the entire Atlantic lay between them, no country was ever more happy or proſperous, or advanced more rapidly in every deſirable improvement, until the unnatural and profligate rebellion which broke out in the provinces, and which ended in their ſeparation from the parent country, and which if any form of Government could have prevented it, would have been that incorporating union, the bleſſings of which ſhe unmeritedly enjoyed. But it is eaſy to know a certain perſon's ſentiments of that unnatural rebellion, who in page 19, panegyrizes the virtues of Waſhington, and the ſagacity of Adams, and who if the late dreadful rebellion had ſucceeded here, would have ſpoken with equal ſincerity of the virtues of Holt and the ſagacity of O'Connor. In ſpeaking of Scotland, I know, too, that he would ſuggeſt to our minds diſcouraging ideas: For inſtance, that though Edinburgh has conſiderably improved ſince the Union, yet that the two events ſtand not in the relation of cauſe and effect to each other, and that ſuch a city in the ſame ſpace of time muſt at all events have advanced. This is certainly flimſy, for who can tell what might have been the ſituation of Edinburgh at this day if there had not been an union? Moſt probably the luxury that would have been induced by the reſidence of a Court and Legiſla-

ture

ture would long before now have been its deſtruction, and it might at this hour be a heap of ruins.

He alſo muſt have wiſhed to inſinuate that all the avenues of ambition and promotion being fortunately cloſed in Scotland by the Union, Scotſmen are proverbial emigrants, and are obliged to tranſplant themſelves into England, where their ſucceſs in puſhing their fortunes is a ſource of endleſs ridicule and national jealouſy, and where in ſpite of all their pains in aſſerting themſelves to be Britons and not Scotſmen, the ſurly natives never fail to remind them that they are not Engliſhmen. Why this is true; but how entirely does the application fail as to Ireland, whoſe natives have always been popular and favourite characters in England. We know no jealouſy ever exiſts in the boſom of an Engliſhman towards an Hibernian, and that the males and females of that liberal nation have always vied in paying compliments to their fortunate neighbours. Neither does the example of Scotland militate againſt our adoption of an Union, for though there have been two rebellions in 80 years, and though in ſpite of an incorporating Union the French contrived to intrigue there lately, and Muir, Palmer, and others, preached republicaniſm and the pike philoſophy in that happy province, yet we all know that

all this happened AFTER the Union, whereas in Ireland, the Union being ſubſequent to ſuch misfortunes, muſt completely extinguiſh the poſſibility of their revival, and *be in every ſenſe the ſalvation of the country.*

I come now to the moſt unprincipled part of this work. Every body knows that one of the ſtrongeſt and moſt unanſwerable arguments in favour of an Union is that it muſt of neceſſity extinguiſh all religious animoſities, and for ever ſilence the diſcordance of ſectarious conflicts. For inſtance, it is obvious that the Catholics can never hereafter complain of not participating in the conſtitution, becauſe there will be no conſtitution for them to participate in; and that they will have nothing to aſk from their Proteſtant brethren, becauſe their Proteſtant brethren will have nothing to give them; and on the other hand, the Proteſtants can have no alarm leaſt their privileges ſhould be taken from them, when they will have nothing to to be robbed of.——This equitable and natural compoſition of claims, which otherwiſe muſt have claſhed in endleſs diſcord, has almoſt without an exception, reconciled both parties in a common unanimity of approbation, to a meaſure which demonſtrably *will be the ſalvation of the country.* But how does this abandoned hireling of a deſperate faction, endeavour to diſtort this happy

py circumſtance, and fruſtrate ſo deſirable a conſummation?

Forſooth he laments, with hypocritical quotation, in page 22, *that it is a conſummation devoutly to be wiſhed, but never to be expected*; and in order to tear open and feſter the gaping wounds of his languiſhing country, he labours to diſguſt both religions againſt the Union, by affecting to repreſent it as excluſively advantageous to each.—He argues that each religion is to be bettered at the expence of the other, and that both muſt gain, becauſe each muſt loſe.—To the Catholic he affects to ſay, while the preſent order of things continues, the Proteſtant Aſcendancy muſt be maintained;—there is no getting rid of it—the King's Coronation Oath—the Teſt Laws—the Conſtitution in Church and State—all ſtand in your way;—Government wiſh to ſerve you, but the Conſtitution is a Gordian Knot of difficulties, and there is no way but cutting it aſunder; What will ſignify an Iriſh Act of Parliament, if the Iriſh Parliament itſelf is out of the way?—His Majeſty can have no further ſcruples about his oath, when his Iriſh Parliament have made free with theirs; in an Union all difficulties will vaniſh, and then who knows what the King and Britiſh Parliament, may hereafter do for you. This is a juſt paraphraſe of the topics he addreſſes inſidiouſly to the Catholics—for this very pur-

poſe

poſe, that they ſhould ſee the tendency of his ſophiſms, and be prejudiced againſt that Union, *which is to be the ſalvation of the country.* To the Proteſtants he ſays, the Catholics are the majority now—nothing but an Union can make them the minority. For though four Catholic Iriſhmen, are more numerous than one Proteſtant Iriſhman, yet if to the latter you add ten Proteſtant Engliſhmen, the Proteſtant Iriſhmen will then exceed the Catholic Iriſhmen, in the proportion of eleven to four.—Haſten then, to work this ſum, and avail yourſelves of political arithmetic—Beſides, your True Blue politics are going out of faſhion—(*Vide page* 52)—*Who will be a guarantee of that ſyſtem, and whom will it content? The Catholics will not acquieſce in its propriety—A party of Proteſtants in Ireland, term it unjuſt and abſurd—Another party in England term it by fouler names, great leaders in Oppoſition, poſſibly the future Miniſters of England, may condemn it, and ſome members of the Britiſh Cabinet are ſuppoſed to be adverſe to it. Its ſtability may depend upon accident, upon the death of a ſingle character, upon the change of a miniſter, or the temper of a Lord Lieutenant; the policy of this ſyſtem is much doubted by the people of England, and while your Parliament exiſts, you are never ſecure againſt ſuch contingencies.*—And again, in *page* 26—*Great Britain is not pledged upon any ſpecific principle to ſupport one ſect in Ireland, more than another—I know not by what tie ſhe is debarred from aſſiſting the Catholics, while*

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the kingdoms remain ſeparate—that is, in other words, perhaps in the next rebellion, the Engliſh may join the Catholics againſt the Proteſtants. No compariſon is too ludicrous for ſuch traſh as this, and indeed I am fatigued with ſerious reſentment againſt ſuch abſurd profligacy. It is like an old ſinner, clapping two boys on the back, to make them break each other's heads, while he runs away with the prize for which they contend. It is like a fraudulent groom porter, proclaiming the odds in favour of one gambler, while he whiſpers them in favour of the other—or a ſharper looking over, and adviſing one hand, while he is making ſigns on his fingers to the adverſary. It is impudently, and for diſaffected purpoſes, repreſenting Government as an Auctioneer, ſetting the bleſſings of an Union up to a puff auction, threatening the Proteſtants that they will be outbid by the Catholics, and the Catholics that the Proteſtants will get the market; and preſumptuouſly imputing to Lord Cornwallis's adminiſtration, the abominable and Machiavelian principle of *divide & impera*, which is in reality the badge of the United Iriſhmen, and other confederates of that audacious pamphleteer.—A gang of ſwindlers in London (a place notorious for ſuch gentry) hired an alley which communicated from one public ſtreet to another. At each end ſtood one of the gang, and vociferated

"*Walk*

" *Walk into the auction, great bargains, walk into the auction.*" The deluded paſſengers, who were quietly going the broad way to St. Paul's cathedral, liſtened to the voice of the charmer, and ſtepped in; while, at the other ſide, the equally deluded croud going through *Ave-Maria*-lane did the ſame. What was the conſequence? They knocked their heads together in the dark, and the remainder of the robbers picked the pockets of both. Such would be the deſpicable images juſtly applicable to the Britiſh nation and cabinet, if this ſhameleſs ſcribbler was a true repreſentative of their ſentiments, but we know very well the magnanimity of that nation and cabinet in conceding this Union to Ireland, *which is to be the ſalvation of the country*, and we will not be inflamed by ſuch ſcandalous miſrepreſentation. We know that government is incapable of ſuch monſtrous and depraved duplicity as to ſay to the Catholics, emancipation can never be granted till there is an Union; and to ſay to the Proteſtants, emancipation can never be refuſed till there is an Union. In the treating of this topic the rebel blood breaks out in ſpite of every concealment—Vide page 19. The old inflammatory topic is put forward, that *nine-tenths of the property of Ireland are in the hands of Britiſh deſcendants, and that theſe Proteſtants thus poſſeſſing nine-tenths of the property, are only one-fourth of the inhabitants in number, and have been obliged to rely upon*

Britiſh

British assistance for the preservation of their property and existence. This once more, as in a former passage, suggests to the Catholic Irish the desperate project which the United Irishmen have ever proclaimed as the only chance of recovering their rights, a separation from England, and yet the same man who urges this argument of the Catholic numbers as conclusive upon the occasion, affects in another passage to recommend an Union upon the specific merits of its annihilating that argument altogether—Vide page 26. In the event of an Union *the Catholics would lose the advantage of the argument of numbers which they at present enjoy.* But, alas, this is not mere nonsence—human wickedness is equal to such a flight, though human folly is not. The sophist well knew, that the inferences founded upon the numbers of the Catholics are no more affected by the numbers of the English Protestants than by the number of Dutch, Swiss or American Protestants, and that before and after an Union, whether the English nation were Jews, Turks, or Anabaptists, the Catholics *in Ireland* would continue the majority of the people, and all arguments and expectations drawn from that fact, whether justly or otherwise, remain precisely as before. But this is neither more or less than a hint to the disaffected part of the Catholics, to turn this sophism to their own purposes. It teaches them to say—if we are the minority of

the empire, the danger of our claims, which results from our numbers, and with which you alarm the Proteſtant, vaniſhes; and if we are the majority, you eſtabliſh our right to emancipation upon the very ſame principle that you eſtabliſh the rights of the Proteſtants. Vide page 23. *Every ſtate ought to eſtabliſh that religious ſect which is moſt numerous.*

In page 53, already cited, among other dangers incident to the Proteſtant intereſt, while the legiſlatures remain ſeparate, we find that its ſtability may reſt upon accident, upon the death of a *ſingle* character. The word *ſingle* is printed in italics. Reader, reſtrain your indignation when this is explained to you. It is generally conceived, in conſequence of the miſrepreſentations of the United Iriſhmen, that his preſent Majeſty is hoſtile to a further emancipation of the Iriſh Catholics, but that the heir apparent to the crown entertains different ſentiments upon that ſubject. Obſerve, then, this incendiary, with affected zeal for the eſtabliſhed religion, running the king's life againſt the Proteſtant aſcendancy, but, in reality, ſuggeſting to the Catholics the ſhort cut to the accompliſhment of their wiſhes. It required more than ordinary preſumption to introduce into a work, affecting to recommend that meaſure *which is to be the ſalvation of the country*, the blaſted aſſaſſination principles of the Union Star, and to point out the beloved father of his people to his loyal ſubjects as

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an obſtacle to their proſpects, which only can be removed by the termination of his life. Indeed the miſchievous principle which pervades the whole work is (to uſe a colloquial expreſſion) *the putting bad things into one's head*, under the ſubtle pretence of doing general good. It reminds me of a familiar, though innocent illuſtration. Some college ſtudents were inflicting the diſcipline of the pump upon one of thoſe unpopular characters called a bailiff, who had been detected in violating the academic ſanctuary. A ſenior fellow who was a *ſpectator* of the puniſhment, and who, though bound to enforce collegiate decorum, entertained the uſual antipathy to the ſheriff's officer, exclaimed, "fye, lads, don't be cruel, don't nail the man's ear to the pump." The youths, who had not before thought of this improvement, thanked the preceptor for his hint, and the unhappy victim was accordingly affixed to the inſtrument of his diſgrace.

In page 31 occurs a paſſage worthy of obſervation.—"*It does not follow, that if an Union were made, that the government of Ireland would be leſs vigilantly adminiſtered; it would probably be adminiſtered with more attention, becauſe it would be leſs diſtracted by the buſineſs of party and of parliament, and for the ſame reaſon it would be adminiſtered more impartially.*" In the firſt place, this is a malignant and ſlanderous calumny againſt government in general,

not merely inſinuates, but proclaims that government hitherto has not only not been adminiſtered vigilantly and impartially, but has been *diſtracted*. In that general ſlander is alſo included much private defamation of Major Sirr, Inſpector Shee, Mr. Gregg, the gaoler of Newgate, Mr. Juſtice Swan, and other active and cool officers in the executive department. Secondly, it impudently aſſerts that ſuch the miſconduct and frenzy of government is owing to that very patriotic parliament which is about to paſs a meaſure for *the ſalvation of the country*; and thirdly, it ſeeks to inflame and ſtir up the good people of England againſt their legiſlature, by advancing an argument which, if puſhed, would conclude againſt the exiſtence of all parliaments whatſoever, and at once demonſtrate the pre-eminent ſuperiority of an abſolute monarchy, not diſturbed by any *diſtractions* but its own. This ſophiſt well knew the maxim—"he who proves too much proves nothing;" and with affected ſimplicity expoſes himſelf to the application of it. But, in truth, it is very poſſible that the mixed government may be beſt for England, and the pure executive for Ireland. However, though it were to be admitted that the liberty of the ſubject is ſecured by the reſponſibility which the executive owes to the legiſlative, yet the Britiſh executive who will hereafter govern this country, *undiſtracted* by an Iriſh parliament, being compoſed of men of honor,

nor, they will find themſelves bound in honor to feel that reſponſibility encreaſed, in proportion to the diſtance at which it reſides; and therefore, in fact, the principles of the Iriſh Conſtitution, moving in an orbit more remote from the focus of the prerogative, will be attracted thereto in the encreaſed ratio of their own centrifugal force. Beſides, if hereafter any ill-adviſed Lord Lieutenant ſhould be tempted to make any unconſtitutional attempt in his Government, a direct appeal can be made upon the ſubject, with a reaſonably fair wind to the Parliament of the empire, in about four days, and as from the encreaſed numbers of imperial ſenators, there will be much more time for public buſineſs, than formerly, there may be always expected a debate, and ſatisfactory determination, upon the ſubject to be known in Ireland, (wind and weather ſtill permitting) in about ten days more, unleſs it ſhould unfortunately happen to be the time of the Seſſion allotted for Meaſures of Finance, or Engliſh Turnpike Bills, and in the interval, whatever little encroachment has been made by the prerogative, will only have been *de bene eſſe*, and the ſame inſtance will probably not recur, ſoon after the law has been ſettled upon the ſubject.

In page 48, this diſaffected man almoſt openly charges Government with taking advantage of a ſeaſon of war and confuſion, to force an Union

Union upon the Iriſh people, whereas, in truth, that very circumſtance demonſtrates the magnanimity of Great Britain, inaſmuch as the greater are our calamities, the greater is our neceſſity for a meaſure which is to be *the ſalvation of the country*.—But mark the manner of this ſlander. *As to a time of war, it is true that the Volunteers took advantage of the embarraſsments of Great Britain in the laſt war, to aſſert the Independence of our Parliament.—It is likewiſe true, that the United Iriſhmen in the preſent war, have taken advantage of the ſuppoſed weakneſs of Great Britain, to play the game of ſeparation.—When, therefore, enemies of the empire take advantage of a time of war and embarraſsment to effect its ruin, we ſhould turn againſt them their own game, and make uſe of a time of war, to eſtabliſh its ſecurity.* What is this but to ſay the Volunteers were no better than the United Iriſhmen, and that Lord Cornwallis's government is as bad as either of them. Obſerve the generalſhip of this maſterly poſition —he poſts his favourite corps, the United Iriſhmen, in the centre, and flanks them with the Volunteers, and Lord Cornwallis's adminiſtration.—He knows too how popular the memory of the Volunteers is with all loyal ſubjects in the country, and that the Lord Chancellor, and all the great officers of ſtate, are proud to have belonged in their youth, to that immortal aſſociation; and yet in ſo many words, he ſtiles them *the enemies of the empire, who took advantage of a time*

of

of war and embarraſsment, to effect its ruin.—Can the views of this diſguiſed traitor be any longer diſguiſed?

In the ſame manner that he has halloed the Proteſtants againſt the Catholics, in the hopes of their joining in a common cry againſt the ſalutary meaſure which is to be *the ſalvation of the country*, has he endeavoured to commit all the claſſes of ſociety in pernicious jealouſies againſt each other, the Lawyer againſt the Merchant, the Man of Landed Property againſt both the Clergy and the Diſſenters, and the Dublin Citizen againſt the Inhabitant of Cork. To all theſe ſeveral deſcriptions, he ſucceſſively affects to demonſtrate their peculiar and excluſive advantages, at the expenſe of all the reſt, in the corrupt expectation of uniting them all (as I foreſee will be the caſe,) in one common oppoſition to the meaſure. This man for his own abandoned purpoſes, would ſet the two breaſts on the ſame boſom againſt each other. *To demonſtrate* (ſays he) *to the Clergy the advantage of an Union, would be loſt labour indeed.* (*Vide page* 37.) And yet, (*in page* 56) he affects to give as the 8th Article of the Union, an *arrangement* with reſpect to tythes.—We all know what an *arrangement* that factious crew to which he belongs would make in that reſpect.—He wiſhes to diſguſt the Rebels againſt an union, which is to be ſo advantageous to the Clergy, and to terrify the Clergy from

from a meaſure which is to be accompanied by an arrangement with regard to tythes; one would ſuppoſe he did not expect any one would read his whole pamphlet, but that each part would be ſtudied by thoſe it was intended to miſlead. In one and the ſame page (32,) he affects to conciliate the Diſſenters, by urging inducements irreconcileably contradictory. They too, like the Catholics, are to be appeaſed with a burnt-offering of tythes—they too, like the Proteſtants, are to be reinforced numerically, by the acceſſion of Scotch and Engliſh Diſſenters; and yet, in the ſame page they are told, that the inevitable conſequence of the meaſure, muſt be the annihilation of their ſect, and their neceſſary merging in the maſs of the Proteſtants. The author knew that no man writing in a ſtrain of ſuch profligate inconſiſtency, could be ſuppoſed to be in earneſt, and he adviſedly, at once ſubjects the meaſure of an Union, to reprobation, and the defence of it to ridicule. In *page* 33, the temporal peers are inſidiouſly reminded, that nothing will be left to them but their properties; and are inſultingly informed, that being allowed to retain their properties, will be more than a compenſation for the loſs of their conſequence; while the ſpiritual peers are told, that *they will be amply recompenced by the ſecurity given to their Dioceſan Eſtates, and to the general intereſts of the Church*;—and what is that ſecurity, and what are thoſe intereſts?—That deſertion of the Proteſtant

teſtant intereſt; and that arrangement of tythes which are promiſed to the Catholics and Diſſenters as the reward of their acquieſcence. It is eaſy to ſee that the ſame unprincipled attempt is made in the paſſage addreſſed to Country Gentlemen, and that they are ſcarcely mentioned in the pamphlet except for the purpoſe of invidious claſſification, and of ſhewing them their intereſts as contradiſtinguiſhed from the profeſſion of the law and the mercantile community; whereas in truth all ranks, trades, and profeſſions are equally concerned in this momentous meaſure.

To the merchants the Author evidently inſinuates with his characteriſtic artifice that none of the expected commercial advantages are neceſſarily connected with an Union, and that in the preſent ſyſtem of connexion a liberal and honeſt policy on the part of England would communicate this participation of privileges as effectually as under any other modification of the relation between the two countries. This is evident by the inſinuations in pages 38, 39, and 40, that the Engliſh will never conſume Iriſh corn, until there be a Union; that they will violate national faith in regard of the Iriſh linen manufacture unleſs there be an Union; that unleſs that meaſure takes place they will never make uſe of the great canals which they have extended to Liverpool and other weſtern ports, but like the dog in the manger, will deny the enjoyment of theſe benefits both to us and themſelves. This nonſenſe

could never have been written with any view but that of fomenting national jealouſy, and repreſenting the magnanimous nation of England as a monſter of mean injuſtice and cruel illiberality. This nonſenſe would repreſent our generous neighbours buying our Conſtitution with their Commerce, commuting their ſubſtantial advantages for our illuſory pride, and content to injure themſelves provided they degrade us. Whereas every one knows the reverſe to be true. It is well underſtood and univerſally believed that the Engliſh have long determined upon the moſt liberal equalization of the commercial privileges of both nations; that ſuch an event is by no means dependent upon the meaſure of an Union, but concurrent with it, and that the only reaſon for making the two circumſtances cotemporary is the wiſh of heaping favour upon favour till the compliment overpowers us.

This reſervation of the one boon until it can be accompanied by the other is evidently the dignified and munificent intention of Great Britain, and as nothing manifeſts an handſome intention ſo much as a handſome manner, it particularly appears from the guarded and delicate ſilence preſerved upon the quantity, degree and nature of the commercial bleſſings in reſerve for us; not affronting this great nation by a mean numerical detail of paltry items, but enveloping the be-

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nefice in an indefinite myſterioufneſs, ſo as to take us by ſurpriſe, and confound us, as it were, by the magnitude of advantages which we had no opportunity of calculating. It is important, therefore, that this unfortunate Scribe ſhould not be ſuffered to miſrepreſent this matter. Indeed, wicked as his inſinuations are, they have not the merit of originality: I remember on the debate of the Iriſh Propoſitions in the Engliſh Houſe of Commons another factious character, Mr. Fox, ſaid with epigrammatic affectation, *I would not give the Commerce of England for the Conſtitution of Ireland: It is not the thing I wiſh to purchaſe, nor the price I wiſh to pay.* This fooliſh and reprobated notion of compromiſe, where there is nothing but munificence on one hand and gratitude on the other, is adopted by the pamphleteer, but, I truſt, is now ſufficiently expoſed. The rational Iriſh merchant knows that the Union is *to be the ſalvation of the country*, and that is as much as he wiſhes to know about it. The opinion I have here combated is preſſed by the enemies of both nations for obvious purpoſes. The benefits to be acquired by an Union muſt be either ſuch as are obtained by compact between the countries, or ſuch as are the natural operation and reſult of the meaſure itſelf. Now in this caſe the advantages to be contracted for, whether for Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Limerick, or Galway, are altogether out of the queſ-

tion, inaſmuch as they are all equally attainable under the preſent connection, and as the two countries are already imperially connected, there could be no honeſt or rational motive aſſignable, why they are not at preſent imparted, (eſpecially as ſuch benefits could continue only while the connection exiſts) except the generoſity of Britain wiſhing to make each kindneſs more valuable, by giving them all at once. But becauſe that deſcription of advantage is out of the queſtion, we always hear of it from the enemies of the meaſure, who entirely overlook, or affect to do ſo, the benefits which naturally reſult from the meaſure itſelf, which flow from the mere fact of Union, and are created ſimply by the transfer of legiſlation. It would be uſeleſs to detail the particulars of ſuch benefits, honorable confidence has already given credit for them, and ſceptical incredulity is proof againſt conviction. A few of thoſe which the tranſplantation of Parliament muſt inſtantly, *and of itſelf*, generate, are, the total oblivion of all religious animoſities, the immediate converſion and repentance of the United Iriſhmen, the multiplication of the Proteſtants, and conſequent ſatisfaction of the Catholics, the ruſh and influx of Engliſh capital into this peaceful and contented country, the improvement of agriculture, by the brotherly and edifying intercourſe of Engliſh and Iriſh farmers, the diminution of abſentees and taxes, the reduction of an

expenſive

expenſive ſtanding army, the improvements of the metropolis, peace with the French, and glory with the world!—Theſe are but a few of the bleſſings neceſſarily connected with the ſimple fact of changing the ſeat of legiſlation. Bleſſings innumerable, and which only can be deſcribed by ſaying, *that the meaſure muſt be the ſalvation of the country.*

I am ſorry to find that it is not unneceſſary to caution this credulous country, againſt the artifice of this diſaffected hypocrite.—I lament, that ſince theſe ſheets were begun, his ſubtle and malignant poiſon has taken effect, in one member of the national body.—I lament that a deſcription of men, whom I reſpect ſo much as the Bar of Ireland, has not been able to reſiſt the infection, and I have the vanity to regret, that they had irreparably erred, before this publication could appear, to warn them of their danger.—However, my reſentment to the dupes merges in my ſuperior indignation againſt the impoſtor, and candour compels me to remember, that if it were not for the audacious pamphlet in queſtion, moſt probably 166 Iriſh lawyers would never have diſgraced their profeſſion and themſelves by publicly denouncing to the nation a meaſure which *is to be the ſalvation of the country.* This libeller knew the ſtrings upon which to touch the profeſſion, and by affecting

to

to repreſent their poſſible objections to an Union as frivolous, has, in reality, made them the ſubject of the livelieſt anxiety and irritation. Thirty-two independent and public ſpirited characters have certainly reſcued the Bar from univerſal opprobrium; they may be conſidered by an ominous coincidence of numbers as ſo many county repreſentatives, and in that reſpect, as ſpeaking (*ex cathedra*) the ſentiment of the kingdom—but it is melancholy to ſee the extended corruption of 166 men, all influenced by the expectation of ſitting in parliament, and deſperately monopolizing more than half the repreſentation of the people, and upon this baſe and ſelfiſh principle reſiſting the *ſalvation of their country*. God knows there were lawyers enough before in the Houſe of Commons, as the writer truly has ſtated (page 35,) *a formidable phalanx*. Of our 300 members there are no leſs than 17 practiſing barriſters, and at leaſt a dozen more, who, though they never followed the trade, were bred to that unconſtitutional profeſſion. This is bad enough, but no honeſt Iriſhman can be ſufficiently grateful for the prevention of 166 more from ſitting in the next parliament. It is lamentable to ſee the beſt and moſt reſpectable characters ſtoop before the idols of ambition. Even Mr. Saurin, who, during * Lord Camden's

* That nobleman was weak enough to treat the profeſſion of the law with reſpect, and their armed aſſociation with aſ-on, but the more vigorous intellect, which diſtinguiſhes dminiſtration of his ſucceſſor has appreciated the bar ie yeomanry with more juſtice.

den's adminiſtration, was in his cool ſenſes, and refuſed the office of Solicitor General and a ſeat in parliament, has ſuffered his quiet and ſober intellect to be inflamed by the artful inſinuations of this rebel in diſguiſe, and has for ever loſt his reputation with his country and profeſſion, and for what? For the idle ſpeculation of ſitting at the head of 166 lawyers in the next Houſe of Commons. This paſſage in the pamphlet was intended for more than the Bar. The author ſlily reminds us (page 34) that it is the habit of Iriſh gentlemen to educate their ſons as lawyers, and by this hint that there is ſcarcely a gentleman's family in the kingdom which has not ſome dear connection in the profeſſion, he hopes to engage the whole claſs of our gentry in one common reſentment with thoſe whom he excluſively appears to inflame, while he makes ſure of the indignation of both by one round aſſertion, (page 35) that what is *bad for the Bar, muſt, of neceſſity, be good for the country.* Another moſt deep, and, indeed, ingenious ſcheme, in order to deter the Bar from an Union, is a poſitive denunciation, that, in the event of an Union, there will be *abler* judges upon the bench than at preſent. Vide page 35. This had the deſired effect with Mr. Saurin, Mr. Duquery, Mr. Fletcher, Mr. Plunket, and ſome other Iriſh ſmatterers in law. This was an evil, the proſpect of which they could not bear. They find it eaſy now to hum-

bug

bug Lords Kilwarden and Carleton, and Judges Downes, Chamberlaine, Smith and George. They can hood-wink Lord Yelverton at Niſi Prius, and in Equity the facility and ſoftneſs of Lord Clare is ſo proverbial, that the loweſt attornies daily out-wit and over-reach him. But there would be an end to this hopeful trade if the bench were filled with *abler* judges, as in the event of an Union, from the ſuperior learning of the Engliſh bar, there is every probability it would.

The notion of *young adventurers who have little ſtake in the country, but a facility of ſpeaking on every ſubject*, (page 35) was not intended to affront the bar, as might at firſt appear, but to excite their emulation, and ſtimulate their ambition, and it unfortunately has had the deſired effect. The bar muſt have obſerved inſtances of young adventurers from another nation, who had *no* ſtake in this country, or any other, and *no* facility of ſpeaking upon any ſubject, but merely a facility of writing, (and that too with *clerical* errors) upon ſome ſubjects, who yet contrived to riſe from the loweſt, to the higheſt, ſituations; and they inferred, that they were not excluded from ſuch pretenſions, merely becauſe they are Gentlemen by birth and education.

The truth is incontrovertible, though it appears in

in the pamphlet in queſtion, and that is, that the bar are too fond of politics. Shortly before the French came to Bantry Bay, the bar, in a political fury, took up arms, which they have not *yet* laid down; and, under the vain idea of defending the country, they not only waſted their own time, but inſpired all over the kingdom a ſimilar and general idleneſs. In the time of the rebellion this miſchief was at its height, and no man could get his buſineſs out of the hands of a lawyer. He was never to be found at home, but indulging upon guard, or diſſipating in camp; and I am convinced, if, for near ſix months, the attornies had not been equally indolent, that the complaints of clients would have been innumerable. But this, though inconvenient to others, was, moſt of all, inconvenient to the United Iriſhmen, and hence the reſentment and venom of this hackney ſcribe.—*Hinc illæ lacrymæ.* However, I truſt the bar will come to their ſenſes, though for a moment led away by this profligate ſophiſt. I truſt they will, even if againſt their own intereſt, concur heartily in a meaſure which *muſt be the ſalvation of the country.* But, even their moſt ſelfiſh intereſts, in my apprehenſion, muſt be promoted by an Union. The Iriſh gentlemen who will emigrate for the good of their country, muſt borrow money to ſupport the expence of Engliſh living, upon mortgages of their Iriſh property. This muſt multiply foreclоſure cauſes,

and the encreaſe of ejectments, and other actions for non-payment of rent in the city of Dublin will be incalculable.

I paſs by, with contempt, the inſinuation in (page 39,) that this popular meaſure is, in the city of Dublin, to be ſupported by force, as *being the head-quarters of the army.* The city of Dublin will derive more benefits from this meaſure than my ſhort limits will ſuffer me to enumerate. Its beauty (to mention but one inſtance) will be conſiderably contributed to by the deſirable introduction of *Rus in Urbe* in ſeveral parts of it. This, together with the aſcertained advantage which Dublin muſt derive, after the Union, by getting rid, altogether, of that riotous and troubleſome deſcription of men, the manufacturers in the Earl of Meath's liberty, demonſtrates, that, in ſpite of this flagitious firebrand's inſinuations, this city will be benefited by an Union as much as Cork, or Waterford, or any other place in the kingdom. I touch, with equal contempt, upon the crafty hint, that parliament is incompetent to its own diſſolution. He repeats the ſophiſm of Rouſſeau in defence of ſuicide—that reaſon being given to man to atchieve happineſs, he has a right to deſtroy himſelf whenever it tells him that death is preferable to life. He knows that deluſive argument was eaſily anſwered by Rouſſeau himſelf,

ſelf, and therefore urges it as a mock defence for what he hints to be a political ſuicide. The object of Parliament, ſays he, is general good. Now if general good is attainable by ſelf-deſtruction—*ergo*, &c. &c. This would be very ſchool-boyiſh if it was not very wicked.

This topic is, (upon the plan of the work) ſtrongly enforced, by being weakly combated;—one example is worth a dozen arguments.—In the reign of Oliver Cromwell, the Long Parliament perpetuated itſelf by a vote.—Hiſtory informs us of the good conſequences of that meaſure.—Of courſe, a *multo fortiori*; if Parliament has a right to perpetuate, it has a right to deſtroy, itſelf. I ſhall conclude now with two remarks:

1ſt—This infamous production labours to eſtabliſh one propoſition:—That no man can agree to an Union, unleſs impelled to do ſo by the moſt abject fear, or moſt abandoned corruption; whereas, in truth, all good men concur in their approbation of it, upon the moſt enlarged conviction, (independent and regardleſs of all paltry detail) *that the meaſure will be the ſalvation of the country.*

2d—That there is demonſtration of the utility of the meaſure, from one circumſtance:—That during the ſucceſſive reigns of various Viceroy's, no

Engliſh

Engliſh ſecretary had ever the public ſpirit to propoſe this important revolution, but that as ſoon as an amiable young nobleman of our own nation aſſumed the reins of government, the firſt meaſure of his adminiſtration was *the ſalvation of his country.*

Lord Caſtlereagh, uninfluenced by the ſelfiſh examples of his Engliſh predeceſſors, felt the Iriſh blood running in his veins, and determined it ſhould never bluſh in his face—his country, and poſterity, will do him juſtice*.

The pamphlet I have anſwered, I do not heſitate to pronounce, the moſt audacious, profligate, and libellous production, which ever diſgraced the licentiouſneſs of the preſs, or inſulted the feelings of a nation.—A bad head, and a bad heart, muſt have concurred to compoſe it, and the moſt unbluſhing and unfeeling effrontery, alone, was equal to the publication of it.—I rely upon the wiſdom and ſpirit of the Britiſh Parliament, in which my country is ſo ſoon to be repreſented, not to ſuffer it to eſcape with impunity, and I truſt one of the firſt motions made in the Imperial Legiſlature, may be—"That his Majeſty's "Attorney General, the Rt. Hon. John Toler, or

* I hate old proverbs and vulgar adages.—One moſt illiberal one is contradicted by this Nobleman's conduct; that if you put an Iriſhman on a ſpit, you can always get another to turn him.

" or Captain Taylor, the Lord Lieutenant's Aid-
" de-Camp, may be ordered to profecute the Au-
" thor, Printer, and Publiſher, of the ſaid Libel,
" by Indictment, Information, or Court-Martial,
" as the circumſtances of the caſe may require."

FINIS.

THE UNION.

JUST PUBLISHED,

FIRST LETTER to a Noble Lord, on the Subject of an UNION,
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THOUGHTS

ON THE

PROJECTED

UNION,

BETWEEN

GREAT BRITAIN

AND

IRELAND.

"Nous perdons la Patrie, ſi nous nous diviſons."

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR J. MOORE, NO. 45, COLLEGE-GREEN.

1797.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Author of the few following pages, animated by an anxious deſire of ſaving his country from an attempt he has long foreſeen, and dreaded, is yet conſcious of his inability to place the picture in the ſtrongeſt light. He hopes, however, to ſucceed ſo far, as to put the matter in a way of being fully diſcuſſed, by perſons, more equal to the important taſk.

The pain which every Iriſhman muſt feel, at reading the hiſtoric page of his country, has not deterred him from ſketching the cauſe and progreſs of our orginal connection with England, together with our preſent ſubjection to the cabinet of that country, in fourteen years after our emancipation from its parliament. Whilſt he deprecates the meaſure of AN UNION, as ruinous to

this country, he does not imagine there is any neceſſity of painting the preſent bankrupt and degraded ſituation of Britain, to recover her from which, the miniſter would ſacrifice us. He is fully convinced that no exertion of his is neceſſary to the determined oppoſition of the great body of his countrymen; but he wiſhes to prevail with our next Parliament, to gain the hearts of Iriſhmen by ſcouting the prepoſterous idea, to prove themſelves our repreſentatives, by protecting us from a meaſure to be carried at the point of the ſword, and whilſt they refuſe reform, to ſhew ſome attachment to the intereſts of the people, by ſaving us from the laſt dreadful innovation a Britiſh miniſter can make on the few remaining rights of IRELAND—an innovation that he never dare to attempt, IF THE PEOPLE WERE FULLY AND FAIRLY REPRESENTED, but which, if effected, will for ever deſtroy all hope of reform, or of liberty.

THOUGHTS

ON THE

PROJECTED UNION, &c. &c.

THERE are certain periods in political, as well as in moral opinion, when the man who is born free, as well as the philoſopher who has ſpent his life in the inveſtigation of truth, feels himſelf equally called upon, by *principle*, to make his thoughts public.

The period is now arrived, when every native of this iſland, ſhould fix his attention on one of the moſt important ſubjects, that has ever employed the mind of an Iriſhman; to wit—an union between this country

country and the kingdom of Great Britain. —I know there are many, who even yet, look on ſuch an event as merely ideal, and contrary to the wiſhes of the Britiſh government; while others, perhaps, over-valuing our parliamentary virtue, and the great danger that muſt attend ſuch a meaſure, fancy it utterly impoſſible. But thoſe who build their ſecurity on the political ſelf-denial of an Engliſh miniſter, or the virtue of an ariſtocracy, but too much ſubject to Britiſh influence, know but little of the power of *wealth* and *rank* on the minds of men, educated to regard the mere *ſound* of title as the *feeling* of *genuine honor*, and to look on the *pre-eminence* of equipage, as the true diſtinction of *ſuperior virtue*.

That the miniſter of England is *ſerious* in his deſign to bring about an union between the two kingdoms, is a matter ſo evident, that he muſt be blind who does not inſtantly perceive it, not only from the great

great advantages that muſt reſult to England from ſuch a meaſure, but from the avowed ſentiments, and regular approaches of the miniſter of that nation, to effect this long-projected purpoſe: for,

In the year 1776, a Lord Lieutenant was fixed on by the then miniſter, who was to have been inveſted with powers to couple this deſign with a total repeal of the popery laws, and this nobleman had ſent a perſon to lord Harcourt, to confer with him on the means of carrying this intention into effect. In conſequence of which lord Harcourt had digeſted a ſyſtem for the purpoſe, but it fell to the ground, on account of lord Hertford's not wiſhing to remain ſo long in office, as would be neceſſary to put it into execution. Again, in the Engliſh debates on the propoſitions, the wiſhes of the parliament of that country appeared without diſguiſe; for thoſe who defended the propoſitions, alledged, that they would lead to *an union*, and thoſe who objected to them, argued that they would *impede* it;

both

both ſides of the houſe being equally deſirous of ſuch a meaſure; and even ſo late as lord Fitzwilliam's adminiſtration, it is a matter of notoriety, that this favourite plan has been again projected, as appears evident from one of the duke of Portland's letters to that nobleman, which ſays, " if the Ca- " tholic queſtion can be poſtponed 'till a " *peace*, ſomething may be obtained for " England, more important than any thing " which has happened ſince the revolution, " or at leaſt, ſince the union." What meaſure to be obtained in Ireland, could bear this deſcription but an *union?*

It is to be particularly remarked, in how many reſpects the government of England has followed the plan of lord Harcourt.

He adviſed that the attempt ſhould *not* be made in time of war, for that, he ſaid, would be inſanity; that the propoſal ſhould be made to come from an Iriſh party in parliament (as in all probability it will). That the Catholic queſtion ſhould be *inſe-*

parably

parably connected with it; and that a formidable body of * troops ſhould be ready in the country.

But it may be aſked how this ſecret hiſtory of Britiſh deſigns has been brought ſo to light, that the public may be ſatisfied of its reality? To this I anſwer, that nothing but *time* will ſuffer ſecret hiſtory to bring forth its *authorities*, which when produced, become final evidence; nevertheleſs, when ſuch hiſtory (which I will admit to be queſtionable) comes, backed by notorious *fact* †, I think little doubt may be entertained of its veracity.

Since then *an union* is determined on, and the time of peace only waited for to

* There have been 18 regiments poured into this kingdom ſince Chriſtmas laſt.

† The duke of Richmond in his reply to the Iriſh delegates, ſays, "I have always thought it for the intereſt of "the two iſlands, to be *incorporated*, and form one and the "ſame kingdom, with the ſame legiſlature; meeting "ſometimes in Ireland as well as in England."

put

put this plan into effect, it may not be unneceſſary to look back to the original political connection of the two iſlands, with a view to examine the firſt links of that chain, with which Ireland has been bound for ſo many centuries; and, although it may appear invidious to many, to unbind the firſt ties of the two nations, to that inciſion in which Ireland became a graft on Great Britain; yet, as gratitude may be an argument for this meaſure of an union, we will juſt glance at our original obligations.

I feel it a feature in the hiſtoric delineation of theſe iſlands, which is far from pleaſant to depict; but it is a political circumſtance, too well known to be hidden, which few will either doubt or defend. I am the more reluctant to recur to this period of Britiſh and Iriſh hiſtory, as it has always been my wiſh to compare *political policy* on the ſcale of *individual rectitude*; a criterion, which, praiſe be to God! is coming every day more and more into uſe: and though,

I believe

I believe it is not cuſtomary with thoſe who exhibit the moral outlines of particular ages, to compliment the age in which themſelves live, with progreſſive attainments in *virtue*; yet, bad as we all admit the preſent world to be, I feel perſuaded, ſhould any individual in this age behave to another, as England, in the firſt inſtance, thought fit to conduct herſelf * towards this iſland, I fancy, the moſt indulgent judgment of mankind would, at leaſt, be baniſhment, if not an irrevocable outlawry, as a puniſhment for ſo high an aggreſſion.

It is a ſubject, not beneath the moral enquirer, to know how great and poliſhed nations, could treat obſcure, but independent ſtates, with ſuch fraudulent policy,—countries whoſe very low inferiority in both population and traffic, could neither me-

* The original invaders of our country, looked upon the murder of a mere Iriſhman as no crime. Quere—Are not the miniſters of the preſent day of the ſame opinion? Vide Davis on Ireland, page 11 and 12.

nace

nace their ſecurity with the terrors of invaſion, nor alarm their avarice with the apprehenſions of commercial rivalry? Indeed, hiſtory abounds with the contentions of many nations, ſo equal in ſtrength, and ſo implacable, from a ſpirit of revenge, and a mutual ambition of ſurpaſſing each other in glory and wealth, that evident policy ſeemed to dictate little leſs for the ſafety of the one, than the utter extermination of the other. But how a chriſtian prince, without a near proſpect of extraordinary gain; without the inducement of fame, or any other ſtrong incentive to aggreſſion, could invade a generous and unoffending * nation (under whatever ſpecious pretext) with the diabolical determination of butchering and enſlaving all ſuch as dare to oppoſe ſo wicked and cruel a deſign; I ſay, how ſuch a wantonly calamitous conduct could be adopted with deliberation, is a

* The Iriſh in the rudeſt ages, were obliged by the Brehon law, to pay an eric, or fine, as a compenſation for blood.

circumſtance,

circumſtance, though ſtrictly true, yet, ſo contrary to natural juſtice, that no good man would, or could give it credit, if his doubts were not fully removed by the concurring evidence of all hiſtorians.

But to return. When the quarrels of the Iriſh princes invited the deſigning Henry the ſecond to intermeddle in the domeſtic affairs of this kingdom, that political prince clearly foreſaw the high importance that ſuch an iſland, and ſo ſituated as Ireland, muſt prove by its annexation to his former empire. He was well convinced that the unity of the two iſlands, would ſecure the peace, and double the vigour of England, by concentring in him; and in *him*, fixing in *Britain* the phyſical powers of both: and it was he, perhaps, who firſt had the ſagacity to perceive the weight that theſe two inſular nations united, would in after ages acquire in the balance of European politics.

Henry

Henry was a prince of the moſt refined political penetration. He valued the poſſeſſion, more than the name of power, and the *name*, more than the *ſpirit* of religion; for he preferred the ſecurity of dominion to the title uſually annexed to the means by which his conqueſt had been acquired, and the enlargement of that dominion, to moral juſtice. His forces landed as friends, to reſtore peace to the country, but afterwards made the poſſeſſion of the country, the object of perpetual war with the owners of it. The diſcordant leaders, and naked undiſciplined forces that endeavoured to ſet bounds to the various ſubjugating contrivances, of an enemy, no longer *concealed*, were eaſily defeated by a veteran phalanx, acting as a military machine on a maſs of men, (however individually brave) that thronged to battle, almoſt certain of defeat. But although diſcomfiture was the companion of reſiſtance, the Iriſh oppoſed every attempt of an enemy, found by calamitous experience to be invincible, and deſpaired not of the

independence

independence of their country, though ſlaughtered in every effort to aſſert it.

England ſoon found, that victory, however complete, was attended with loſs to the ſucceſsful, and that the vanquiſhed, however broken and diſperſed, found means of freſh reſiſtance, ſhe therefore endeavoured to accompliſh that by *treaty*, which ſhe found, could not be effected by *arms*; and contenting herſelf at length, with partial dominion, left that to be done by poſterity, which other projects afforded neither time nor ability, finally to execute, i. e. the entire ſubjection of the iſland.

Since thoſe days, various efforts have been made to complete the deſign of the firſt invaders, and attended with almoſt all the ſucceſs that either the avarice or the vanity of a Briton could wiſh for. What will appear ſtrange to the man unacquainted with the hiſtory of Ireland, and acquainted only with the Iriſh military character in foreign nations, the natives of this

this iſland have been, almoſt without exception, unſucceſsful in their endeavours to defend their own country. But what can the moſt illuſtrious courage effect, darkened by the obſcureſt ignorance of ſcience? and what will not *diſunion* itſelf accompliſh without an auxiliary? Within the laſt century this country has become too *populous*; and too much *enlightened* to be bullied by the compariſon of numbers, or its inhabitants unreſiſtingly ſlaughtered, by their ignorance of military tactics. Terror has ceaſed (till of late) to be the order of the day, though yet our degraded ſubjection continued, not from the threat of external power, but from *external influence* operating on the majority of an *internal ariſtocracy*.

Such, until the auſpicious year of 1782, was the brief political hiſtory of this ill-fated country; a country, from its inſular far-detached ſituation, formed by the ſovereign architect, for the moſt unconnected independence;

independence;* a country bleſſed by the donor of good, with the abundance of all the neceſſaries and comforts of life; fortified by the ocean, garriſoned with Iriſhmen, and ſtored by the united hands of Mars and Ceres; Ireland had been hitherto nothing more in effect than an humble colony, ſwindled out of her national rights, pilfered of her domeſtic treaſures, flattered out of her virtues, and indebted to England only for her vices; Ireland like the beggarly kinſwoman of a relation, by whom ſhe was deſpiſed, boaſted of the conſanguinity of a *ſiſter*, ſubmitting to the treatment of a *ſtep-child*. In that good year the country was relieved from much of the weight that had been laid upon us by the oppreſſion of foreigners; the parliament of Ireland, ſtimulated by the energy of our glorious and immortal volunteers, conveyed ſome ſmall portion of conſtitutional ſpirit into our government, and this ſpirit, feeble as it was in reality, ſo vivified all condi-

* Surely far more than Portugal, Switzerland, Holland, or Denmark, which are not iſlands, nor have half our population.

tions of the people of Ireland, that a whole century of the former progreſſion of the country, was ſcarcely equal to a ſingle year's improvement, during that dawn of liberty *. But, what was, in fact, this *liberty*, this *conſtitution*, which appeared ſo dazzling, and of which ſo much was boaſted? a power veſted in an *eighth* part of the people, to vote for the *fourth* part of the members of an independent parliament; in other words, an excluſive right in the *Engliſh intereſt* to elect repreſentatives for the *Iriſh people*; in fact, to form a parliament, the grand object of the majority of whoſe members was, firſt, to provide places and penſions for themſelves, and then to vote for whatever meaſure the *Britiſh ſecretary* ſhould recommend, without any regard to the intereſt of the iſland, whoſe parliament they ſtiled themſelves, when ſuch intereſt appeared to claſh with that of Great Britain.

* Graftan obtained for Ireland a free trade, and free parliament; but our freedom of commerce has been much impaired by an ill-regulated channel trade, and our late parliaments, by their own corruption, have ſold that liberty, and not contented with being themſelves ſlaves, have enacted law, ſubverſive of the liberties of the people.

But

But this partial return of the popular voice could not long deceive. The Britiſh conſtitution ſaid, that the Houſe of Commons repreſented all the people in the land, poſſeſſed of a certain property, *i. e.* a property of ſuch a value as gave its poſſeſſor an undoubted intereſt in the peace, and proſperity of the ſtate. The Iriſh Catholic found himſelf in poſſeſſion of a national ſtake, generally equal, and in numerous inſtances, ſuperior in value, to what was thought neceſſary by the conſtitution to ſecure the *amor patriæ*, but, the favourite ſcheme of *divide et impera*, of our Engliſh rulers, deprived that great portion of our people of their elective franchiſe, becauſe they continued attached to the religion of their forefathers. The *Proteſtant* was taught to look on the Catholic as his *vaſſal*, or almoſt, as a being of an *inferior nature*, who ſhould be completely ſhut out of that right of franchiſe, which he thought his due as a freeman, and which he was highly intereſted in the exerciſe of, as a chief poſſeſſor of the commercial wealth of the coun-

try. But this excluſion, ſo contrary to the intentions of the founders of the conſtitution, ſo ſevere, when applied to the great majority of the people, and ſo abſurd and inſulting, when uſed in a ſtate ſaid to be *free*, where every man in the land ought to enjoy his repreſentative in parliament; has of late appeared ſo illiberal and prepoſterous to the *enlightened*, and independent men of every religious deſcription, that the general ſentiment, and general voice of the valuable part of the nation, has repeatedly and ſtrenuouſly demanded its repeal. But how could the voice of thouſands and tens of thouſands avail, when an omnipotent majority in Parliament, ſaid *no*—and when that *no* was not the reſult of meeting the queſtion fairly, and replying to it on principles of ſound *national* policy; but a negative to the proſperity of our country, dictated by thoſe whoſe grand aim was to make a divided * people; becauſe diviſion

* The Orange men, a banditti of tolerated murderers, have, of late, devaſtated ſome of our moſt flouriſhing counties; and revived the horrors of religious warfare. The people attacked by them, ſtyling themſelves defenders, have, in many inſtances, been guilty of equal outrage.

kept

kept us in poverty and weakneſs, for our weakneſs and poverty was their ſtrength and aggrandizement.

But, the ſad differences in religious opinion, which had ſo long ſhut up the people of this land from the bleſſings of ſocial communication, and cloſed the eye of benevolence on "the human face divine," could no longer partition the general good by the rancour of theological acrimony. The profeſſors of the various ſects of chriſtianity, began to abate of their violence to each other, and ſo far relaxed in their hoſtility againſt the Papal doctrines, as to regard the church of Rome, not *as the whore of Babylon*, but as a venerable, though diſeaſed mother, who in return ſeemed to look on her ſelf-willed, long exiled children, with a good-nature, not far removed from charity. At length the ſpirit of chriſtianity ſplendidly dawning on the people, and ſhooting its beneficent influences over thoſe ſharp, and terrifying fences, that ſo long divided communities, preſented to their view the very *ſoul of religion*, in the truly

divine

divine precept of "*love one another.*" The animoſities of religious diſtinction ceaſed, or ſubſided; all ſects ſeemed to implore mutual forgiveneſs, and from this moment the general voice was the general good.

This unanimity, ſo felicitous to Ireland, and ſo grateful to the philanthropiſt, muſt be prevented by the Britiſh miniſter. The prejudices that ſo ſtrongly affected former majorities in parliament, having almoſt wholly ceaſed, freſh incentives muſt be held up. The parliament that ſeemed inclined to knock off the fetters rivetted on the Catholics, in the iron age of perſecution; muſt themſelves be bound to Britiſh intereſts by ſtronger chains of gold. *Places* without number or utility, have been created, and *penſions* immoderate and indecent, beſtowed on thoſe whoſe merit was oppoſition to the good of the country, or notoriety in blaſting the growth of public and private virtue. Yet, the good of Ireland has not been entirely *put down*; it has contended, though in vain, againſt the *frowns* and *ſmiles* of foreign fears and favours; till the experience

rience of every meeting of parliament has ſufficiently proved, that ſuch new gifts muſt be continually preſented by the Engliſh miniſter, to induce anti-patriotiſm, that no ingenuity of taxation can find means to ſupply them.

Formerly, it was an eaſy matter for an Engliſh miniſter, by a judicious diſpoſal of a few offices of emolument, and a ſparing application of *titles*; together with ſeaſonable alarms for the ſafety of the proteſtant religion, with its conſequent terrors to the poſſeſſors of the forfeited eſtates; to hold the Iriſh parliament in ſuch bonds, that, in fact, it was no other than a mere organ, tuned by an outlandiſh hand, (not to play the melodious muſic of the country) but to ſqueak out the unnatural compoſitions of a foreign maſter. But of late from the cauſes before aſſigned, the ariſtocracy of the country would no longer be content with a partial occupation of the great employments, and the Engliſh miniſter is ſo far *now* from having it in his power to provide for the abettors of his ſchemes in the Britiſh parliament,

ment, by placing them, and their relations, in the epiſcopacy, the ſeats of judgment, or in the poſſeſſion of the other prime offices of Ireland *; that he has found all the great and ſmall employments of the nation, ſcarcely ſufficient for the avarice of a native ariſtocracy. Titles have ceaſed to dazzle by being always held to view; our fears for the chriſtian religion affect us the leſs, as we become better acquainted with the genuine energies, and the preſent owners of the forfeited lands, are ſo little uneaſy at the ſecurity of ſuch eſtates, that alarmiſts find it uſeleſs to bellow on this ſubject.

To get rid at once then, of the parliament of Ireland, which is found too untractable, even in its preſent *imperfect ſtate*, the Britiſh miniſter is at this inſtant engaged, not (as in former parliaments) to know the ſum that may be neceſſary to influence the next delegation of the people in favour of Britiſh intereſts, nor to procure votes for, or againſt, a particular queſtion, but to

* One of the late Mr. Forbes's excellent bills, and in which he ſucceeded, was a limitation of the penſion liſt.

find

find the *fee ſimple* of your liberty and property; by a permanent purchaſe of the parliament of Ireland.

'Tis in vain, for the agents of this meaſure, ſo capitally ruinous to the conſtitution of this kingdom, particularly to thoſe great efforts made by our patriots, within the laſt ſixteen years, for its final redemption; to ſay, that ſuch a deſign as an *union*, is not in contemplation by the preſent miniſter of Great Britain, or that a deſign ſo contemplated, will not very ſoon be (at leaſt attempted) to be carried into effect. The prodigious advantage that muſt ariſe to England from ſuch a project, if executed, and the means of executing which, no one will deny the Britiſh miniſter fully to have in his power, together with the daily increaſing difficulty of managing a parliament, the more inclined to attachment to their country, as they ſee the people united to each other; and the leſs liable to be ſeduced by foreign influence, as they find their real intereſt in a virtuous diſcharge of their public truſt. I ſay, the great advantage of an

union

union, on the one hand, and the accumulating difficulties of managing a parliament in Ireland, on the other; muſt convince every man of reflection, without further proof, that ſuch a deſign as an union of the two iſlands, is now in contemplation by the miniſter of England, and that nothing is wanted by him, but a peace with France, to put that deſign into immediate execution.

'Tis true, the people of Ireland have been long ſo well acquainted with their true intereſts, in ſo juſtly eſtimating the value of a conſtitution, which, though far from accompliſhing what it theoretically promiſed,* yet they nevertheleſs deſpaired not, in time, to diſencumber of thoſe clogs and impediments, that ſo palpably fruſtrated the celelent intentions of thoſe who firſt contrived it; and under this hope, every attempt of former Britiſh miniſters, to tranſport the legiſlature of the land, the independence of the nation, the very name of kingdom, has been moſt deſervedly oppoſed, with an honeſt and general indignation. The miniſter

* The excluſive right of the people to conſtitute the third eſtate of the legiſlature. LOCKE.

of

of England well knows that this juſt indignation can never fail to be rouſed in the boſom of every Iriſhman, when a propoſal, ſo *ruinous*, ſo *inſulting*, ſo *inflaming*, is made to this independent kingdom. He will not therefore attempt to bring this infamous queſtion before your parliament with the uſual formalities. You may be ſure, whenever he ſhall attempt it, and attempt it, he certainly will, and perhaps carry it, without your being aware, if the people of Ireland are not vigilant, and determined to prevent it. He will attempt to ſmuggle it through both your houſes of parliamentr, without your conſent or knowledge, and whilſt you fancy your liberties are ſecure in the hands of your repreſentatives, and your iſland free and independent of other nations, as it is detached from other countries, you will behold your rights transferred to the parliament of a foreign nation, and your goodly *kingdom* dwindled into a *province*.

I know there is no cauſe ſo bad, to which private intereſt will not procure public advocates. I have no doubt then, that an *union*, fatal as it muſt be to the welfare of this

this country; will find its ſupporters and defenders, even among *Iriſhmen:* and perhaps it will be ſaid by ſuch perſons, that Scotland has benefited by her union with England, that her induſtry has encreaſed, her commerce extended, and ſuch a flux of wealth found its way into the country, as it was totally unacquainted with before that period—all this I grant—but can by no means attribute ſuch proſperity to an union; on the contrary, (yet, it may appear extraordinary, but ſo it is) to the calamities immediately produced by this meaſure, and not to its natural ſalutary conſequences, we ought, in reality, to aſcribe this proſperity.

In the reign of queen Anne, when the union was, at laſt effected, the kingdom of Scotland ſtill endured the feodal fetters, that not only cloſed the hand of induſtry, but bound up the very mind againſt the groveling purſuit of commerce; and gave no other liberty to the exertions of the people, than the horrid latitude of civil war. The union then, which took moſt of

their

their chieftains from the clans, together with the troops brought into the country to keep down civil war, at once lopped off the reſources of an idle life, and effectually prevented the general plunder that would naturally enſue. Traders and manufacturers, ſpeculating on the ſituation and produce of the country; but moſt of all on the poverty of the people, and the conſequent cheapneſs of labour, found it ſtrongly their intereſt to commence buſineſs among them: and now the few perſons of property who ſtill remained in the country, obſerving the proſperity of ſtrangers, and being freed from the ridiculous reſtraints of feodal abſurdities, attached themſelves likewiſe to induſtry; ſo that we may plainly ſee the advantages which Scotland has acquired in conſequence of its union with England, has not ariſen from any inherent good, intended for the benefit of Scotland, by that union, but from a caſual and unintentional gain, in at once getting rid of the deſtructive ſyſtem of feods, and reſtoring the people to their natural liberty of following that path

of

of life which ſeemed the neareſt way to the attainment of wealth. It is therefore plain, that if Scotland could have enjoyed ſecurity in a peace with England, which ſhe could not, (and a war with that country muſt have been her immediate ruin) and at the ſame time have diveſted herſelf of the abſurd prejudices of her nobles, which were equally fatal to tranquillity and exertion; her union with England, would have been the moſt impolitic meaſure, that could have been ſubmitted to by a keen and independent people. Yet Scotland, in an union which ſhe dare not avoid, acquired commercial advantages, which Ireland cannot look for, becauſe ſhe already poſſeſſes them. If Scotland yielded her nobles and commoners to England, ſhe got in return a certainty of domeſtic peace, and liberty of mind to practiſe induſtry, with liberty of navigation to float that induſtry to its beſt markets, and if ſhe reſigned the title of her land, and the ſelf-direction of an independent nation, ſhe was ſtill allowed her natural ſtation in the iſland, by the title of North

North Britain, and as a member of the kingdom that could not, now be detached, ſhe had no reaſon to ſuſpect a leſs beneficial government than the other parts of Great Britain. But Ireland in an union with England, has every thing to loſe, with only one apparent benefit, that of a greater probability of domeſtic quiet: But ſhould this quiet really enſue from the adoption of this meaſure, would any one be fooliſh enough to aſſert that this internal tranquillity would be permanent? By no means. It may be depended on, that ſuch a *calm*, ſo far from being a ſign of fair weather, would certainly prove like that kind of ſickneſs incident to perſons affected with the Epilepſy, which ſtupifies the brain, before it agitates the body into foaming convulſions. Indeed the power of forty thouſand foreign troops, which, in ſuch an event you muſt pay for, and the terrors of a military government, which of neceſſity you muſt, now, ſubmit to, might chain down the ſtruggles, and ſilence the ravings of your maddened country; but as ſoon as your poverty would petition the

Britiſh

Britiſh parliament for the reduction of ſo enormous an eſtabliſhment, and that parliament ſhould be graciouſly pleaſed to hear your ſupplications; the land that gave you life, like the maniac, reduced by chains from rage to deſpondency, feeling itſelf unbound, would, in all probability, commit ſuch terrible exceſſes, in its firſt tranſport of fury (and perhaps on its beſt friends) as reaſon dare not attempt to foreſee, and ſeeing could not prevent.

It ſhould be obſerved particularly, that at the time when Scotland and England became united, England was then at the very apex of her greatneſs; ſhe had routed the French armies, was in cloſe alliance with moſt of the powers of Europe, and her revenues were clear of any national debt. But at preſent ſhe cannot pride herſelf quite ſo highly on either her military proweſs, or her political connections; for ſhe has neither routed the French armies, nor ſecured ſo extenſively the alliance of her neighbours; and, ſuch is the ſtate of her national debt, that, for a country like ours, to

hazard

hazard all in an union, that muſt make our, almoſt clear revenues reſponſible for ſuch debts, would reſemble the conduct of the little and ſecure trader, who got admitted to the partnerſhip of a declining firm, for the honor of making one in a ſplendid bankruptcy. Who would laſh a ſtanch frigate, to a ſinking firſt-rate? *

But let us for an inſtant anticipate the terms on which we are to reſign, for ever, our national independence (and better terms it is impoſſible for us to expect, conſiſtent with the nature of an union)—By the firſt important article, the Engliſh will ſhare with us all their unbounded liberty of commerce. But are † we not already

* The funded debt of England, amounts to upwards of 409 millions; that of Ireland does not amount to 10 millions.

† But would a reſtoration of commercial advantages, by a well regulated channel trade, ſtill unjuſtly withheld from us, be a compenſation for the loſs of that independence? The Eaſt India trade is now a monopoly in favour of the port of London, with an exception of a mere matter of form; and it is certain that no parliament, meeting at Weſtminſter, will aboliſh that monopoly. As to the channel

in poſſeſſion of all this liberty of commerce, including even the Eaſt Indies, to a certain degree? and by the ſecond article of grace (which will make up the *full ſum* of thoſe ſtipulations which will have even the ſhadow of conceſſion) the landed intereſt will be ſpecially indulged, by only paying a ſmall ratable proportion of the land tax, that is now, or may be hereafter, levied on Great Britain, perhaps, three hundred thouſand pounds per year; ſurely, this muſt be a notable indulgence, that we who pay no land tax at all, in fact, who are not able to pay it, ſhould be favoured with one ſo moderated.

As for the other ingredients that may compoſe this pleaſing cement of an union, I take it for granted that they will be made up of ſuch ſuppurative materials, as will not only draw out the preſent ſymptoms of partial inflammation, but extract the very blood and life from the entire kingdom.

channel trade, I hope that either we ſhall have the ſpirit to aſſert our right to an equal advantage in it, or that we ſhall avoid the example of the fooliſh Eſau, who ſold his birthright for a meſs of pottage.

You

You will, perhaps, be permitted to ſend thirty of your peers to the parliament of Great Britain, ſtiled *the parliament of the empire*, and alſo ſeventy commoners: but this body of one hundred Iriſhmen, poſſeſſing, no doubt, the greateſt fortunes in your iſland (for you no more dare to call it *kingdom)* ſo far from having influence on any queſtion that will concern the intereſt of your country, when placed in oppoſition to England, their very beſt exertions would affect ſuch a vote only in the proportion of one to nine; which will appear evident by examining the number which that aſſembly will then conſiſt of; and, ridiculous as this proportion of one to nine will appear to him who conſiders the majority of a ſingle vote, as fatal or fortunate to any queſtion; yet, even this proportion, we have no reaſon to expect, if we are not more wiſe in our ſelection than our neighbours of Scotland;* or (to judge of the future by the paſt) if our repreſentatives,

* The virtue of the Britiſh parliament is not much increaſed by the addition of the Scotch members, who ſerve the miniſter in that houſe, as the biſhops do in the lords.

like groſs fluids, don't wonderfully improve by the voyage.

Now, by this one article of repreſentation, which will not only prove a nullity to your intereſts, but an inſult to your underſtanding; but, which England will give you as a proud ſubſtitute for your own parliament; you will, in the firſt experience of your treaty, add one hundred of your richeſt men to the already huge maſs of your deſtructive abſentees; and if to thoſe we further add, their relations and friends, with, what is ſtill more alarming, the prodigious numbers of your wealthieſt people, who will follow them, from the faſhion of emigration, that will then rage; nay, a leſs prevailing motive, the comforts of rational ſociety; I think you may ſet down the export of the money that is now abundant in your thriving kingdom, to the laſt guinea your beggared colony ſhall be able to produce.

Your

Your capital, now the moſt beautiful in the empire, and which promiſes, in a few years, to vie, even in wealth, with the firſt in Europe, will then be reduced to certain ruin. Its magnificent ſtreets, or rather, its ranges of palaces, will no more buz the hurried and confuſed ſounds of jocund induſtry and rolling ſplendor; but ſuddenly transformed into the dreary walks of hopeleſs miſery, may be truly called the *metropolis* of *diſtreſs*, where the melancholy traveller ſhall hear no other ſounds, than the plaint of ſtarvation, or the groan of the patriot. The fine arts, now in healthy infancy, would inſtantly expire; whereas, if we have but virtue, and public ſpirit to preſerve our independence, we ſhall not only bring them to maturity, but call to the heart of our country, our exiled ingenious brethren, the ornaments of moſt of the cities in Europe, as to their natural mother, and moſt bountiful patron of her children's ingenuity; but, ſhould you conſent to an union, not only the fine arts would vaniſh, but even your eſtabliſhed

manufacturers,

manufacturers *, who now begin to feel the ſuperiority of their own country to any other on earth, muſt follow the wealth that employed them, and emigrate in a body; or, forced from on ſhipboard by the point of the bayonet, remain in a deſolate land, in a half-ſtarved condition, to toil for the aggrandizement of Engliſh monopolizers. Our canals, formed at ſuch an immenſe expence, and not yet finiſhed, would be rendered uſeleſs; for our capital, being the heart, from whence thoſe nouriſhing veins ſpread through the body of the nation, the breaking of that heart muſt bring inevitable deſtruction on the commercial circulation of the whole iſland. I wiſh I could here finiſh the ſad and tedious catalogue of our impending dangers; but the brief plan of theſe few pages, and what is ſtill a greater impediment, alas! the ſtate of my own feelings will not ſuffer me to

* If the wealthy part of my countrymen and fair countrywomen, would content themſelves with our own manufactures, and not import every article of fancy, furniture, or dreſs; they would not then be diſguſted by the appearance of a ſtarving multitude, and they would ſoon find us every way equal to their foreign favourites.

dwell

dwell minutely on the ruin of my country, I ſhall therefore, only put you in mind of what muſt be palpable to the meaneſt underſtanding.

All our great men, (it matters not, whether that greatneſs is applied to title and fortune, or to the uncommon power of ability), I ſay, all the great men would ſettle in England, either to ſeek for honors, to challenge rewards, or even to look for the humble comforts of ſociety; our metropolis, one ruin; our fineſt country ſeats, now the reſidence of magnificence and hoſpitality, would then be inhabited by a few Engliſh graziers, whoſe flocks would feed on your beſt lands, now producing (one of your chief articles of commerce) an abundance of the fineſt corn to nouriſh and enrich your riſing peaſantry, till thoſe flocks themſelves, ſhould be exterminated by the wolves, the antient ravagers of your fields, who would ultimately be the chief gainers by ſuch an union.

What a grievous ſight will then preſent itſelf to your man of ſcience, when he looks

looks on the map of the world, and fixing his eye on the delightful ſpot that gave him birth, obſerving its happy ſituation for trade to every part of *the world*, and its peculiar commercial advantages to all the weſtern hemiſphere, its numerous and fine harbours, ſuperior to any in Europe, its many and deep rivers, in ſhort, its ſingular and entire requiſites for the moſt ſovereign independence. I repeat it, what will be his ſorrow when he reflects that this iſland, the moſt delightful in the univerſe, had, within his own memory, enjoyed the bleſſings of its own government, was fertile for its own inhabitants, traded for its own profit, and grew rich for its own magnificence? but now, alas! its harbours uſeleſs, its fields uncultivated, its towns nearly deſerted, and its capital in ruins! Will my independent countrymen, reſign for ever, without a ſhadow of compenſation, the power of taxing themſelves, the final adjuſtment of their own litigations, the framing and enacting their own laws, the majeſty of the nation? Will they pledge their

country

country as a joint ſecurity for the liquidation of an Engliſh national debt, a debt of upwards of 409 millions ſterling, a debt that never can be leſſened, but which, in all probability, by the end of next year, will be encreaſed by the addition of a further *loan*, of not leſs than ſix times the ſum of your own national debt. Will you mortgage, and double your taxes for the ſole benefit of another iſland, and contract for freſh and uſurious loans, in proportion as you find yourſelves incapable of diſcharging, even the intereſt of your former debts? But let me not calculate, your deſtruction is too plain to require demonſtration, for the moſt dim-ſighted can perceive the ruin of your country through ſuch an alliance. Nothing can be added to the political misfortunes of your union, but to the moraliſt, the Iriſh moraliſt, who will be more affected for the character of his countrymen, than for their national independence, or even for their means of phyſical exiſtence, an union muſt prove a ceaſeleſs cauſe of ſilent lamentation; no more ſhall

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he pride himſelf on the honeſt candor of the Iriſh character; nor boaſt himſelf as the native of a land, exempt from the cowardly vice of deceit. The union, the double-faced union, will invert the aſpect of your national virtues; and, in the predicament of Scotland, you will endeavour, like the people of that *united* country, to excel in the concealment of your thoughts. The affectation of virtues, you do not poſſeſs, —a *beggarly* humility, an *unnatural* ſelf-denial, a ſlaviſh demeanour to your ſuperiors; but to your inferiors, haughtineſs not to be endured, and arrogance not to be gratified *.

To prevent, as far as lies in my power, this union, which I cannot think on without feeling the deſtruction of my country; I have taken the liberty of publiſhing the foregoing pages, that the genuine lovers of Ireland, may not be wholly ignorant of a meaſure, that will certainly, and ſhortly be brought forward. My object is to make my countrymen unanimous, and unani-

* This character ſeems to ſuit ſome perſons in miniſterial capacities.

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mous in time, in an invincible oppoſition to ſo fatal a propoſal, come in what ſhape it may. I am well aware that allurements of a very attractive nature will be held out to my brethren the Roman Catholics, motives of ſeduction, which I entertain no doubt they will reſiſt; nay, abhor, when they know they will be offered as the price of the ſovereign independence of their country. The Roman Catholics cannot but be ſenſible, that the few remaining grievances of the many they have for ſo many years patiently ſuffered, will not long continue to afflict them. The liberality that has of late removed ſo many penal laws, will not ceaſe to regard you with an eye of juſtice, 'till your laſt oppreſſion is caſt off; this muſt be ſoon, you will not then be ſo fooliſh to your intereſts, and ſo treaſonable to your country, as to ſell the fee ſimple of the independence of your iſland, for the anticipation of your civic franchiſe, of perhaps, not a year, perhaps, not longer than the meeting of the next parliament; I would therefore earneſtly recommend every

Iriſhman

Iriſhman to put aſide religious diſtinctions, but I would particularly conjure all thoſe who at preſent, in city, county, or borough, enjoy the ſhadow of elective franchiſe, to * inſtruct their repreſentatives, to oppoſe with all their might, ſo degrading and diſaſtrous a meaſure as an Union. This will be the only effectual way to ſave the country, and to counteract the deſigns of the Britiſh miniſter; for every freeman ſhould know, that the parliament is only a delegation of the people, convened for the benefit of the people; the people then ſpeaking thus to their repreſentatives, cannot fail to be obeyed; for no parliament that fought its election from the people, can ceaſe to obey the voice, the undoubted voice of its electors. But, ſhould the houſe of commons vote away, or alter the conſtitution of the land, without the approbation of its conſtituents; ſuch an act, I am certain, could be in no wiſe binding, becauſe the parliament being choſen to act under the conſtitution, cannot alter

* County meetings cannot at preſent be held, as under the proclamation, the military would diſperſe them.

or deſtroy it, without riſing above it. Should the parliament of Ireland then, accede to an union with England, without the approbation of the people who made them a parliament; an union, by which the ſovereign conſtitution of Ireland would be ſwallowed up and loſt in the ocean of Engliſh and Scotch repreſentation; it could not be ſaid to act with more fidelity than the ſervant, who being to collect the rents of an eſtate, took the liberty of ſelling it in fee. I ſhould apprehend, both in law and juſtice, that the vote of the one, and the ſale of the other would be equally binding.

I ſhall no longer intrude with my anxieties and my fears, but conclude with reminding my readers of the motto with which I ſet out "Nous perdons la patrie, ſi nous "nous diviſions." Faithful and ſteady to a connection with England which we prize, ſtill let us not ſacrifice our country for her aggrandizement. Whatever diſadvantages we, at preſent labour under, ſpring from

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an * Engliſh adminiſtration, let us not theſe add, an Engliſh parliament. In ſpite of oppreſſion, in ſpite of martial law, let the people of Ireland be united as a man, to oppoſe the fatal attempt; and let the people of England be aſſured, that if they ſuffer themſelves to be made the inſtruments of enſlaving us, they will in turn be themſelves enſlaved.

Ireland may yet be ſaved, if, by a ſteady perſeverance, we ſucceed in obtaining a parliamentary reform †. Let not the warmth

* An Engliſh miniſter plunged Ireland into the preſent war, ſo diſaſtrous to her finances and to her population, but by which, if ever ſo ſucceſsful, ſhe could not have hoped for the moſt minute advantage.

† I have lately met a pamphlet, I cannot recollect where, which contains a well-conceived ſketch of a parliamentary reform. The cities continuing to return their preſent number of repreſentatives, and the boroughs diſfranchiſed, each barony in the ſeveral counties might have its repreſentatives, with a very ſmall encreaſe to the number of your preſent commons. Every individual of a proper age to have the power of voting, in the pariſh where he is enrolled. The poll to be had in each pariſh at the ſame time, and the return to be made at a fixed hour to the baronial court. By this means, the whole parliament would

warmth of temper, natural to my countrymen, incline them to any exceſs. Miniſters only ſeek an excuſe to continue, or if poſſible, to encreaſe their outrages againſt the people. Mr. Pitt, a good financier, and a lover of abſolute authority, having loſt the good opinion of the moneyed men in England, as well as the body of the people, now ſpeculates on the further taxation of Ireland, and of employing our phyſical force to put down his oppoſers at home. The trying moment approaches; I beſeech the great Ruler of the univerſe,

would be choſen in one day, and in a manner that would effectually prevent riot, diſorder, or bribery.

Many perſons may diſapprove of this ſcheme of univerſal ſuffrage; but what right can a reformer have to ſhut out a particular claſs of his countrymen from the elective franchiſe, and ought not all the people to be repreſented in a parliament that can diſpoſe of liberty, life, and limb, as well as of property. I muſt acknowledge, I think the liberty and ſafety of the father of a family, who labours for its ſupport, is of far more value to the community, than the acres of the monopoliſt, or the houſes of the borough-monger. The conſtitution thus invigorated, would be ſupported and beloved by all the people, who would then have a real intereſt in its preſervation, whilſt it would afford them effectual protection.

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to give us unanimity, and to inſpire every Iriſhman with this great truth: that his individual welfare is inſeparably connected with, and dependent on that of his country.

THE END.

ARGUMENTS

FOR AND AGAINST

AN UNION,

BETWEEN

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

CONSIDERED.

by Secretary Cooke,

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ARGUMENTS

FOR AND AGAINST AN

UNION,

CONSIDERED.

IT appears from a variety of circumſtances, that the ſubject of incorporating the Iriſh with the Britiſh Legiſlature, and forming a complete Union of Great Britain and Ireland, is undergoing a diſcuſſion by the leading characters of both kingdoms; and it is rumoured, that ſome meaſure may be propoſed upon it to the two Parliaments.

The queſtion is of ſuch extent and importance, and applies ſo warmly to all the feelings, prejudices and paſſions of the human mind, that it cannot fail to be univerſally debated: the only fear is, that it will not be properly debated.

If it is to be decided by paſſion, or by force, there is no miſchief which the agitation of the

queſtion may not produce; if it is to be determined on its merits, it cannot fail to be uſeful. In one caſe the rejection or adoption of it would terminate in diſcontent or convulſion; in the other, the reſult of conviction would produce ſatisfaction.

The object of the conſiderations which follow, is not to give an opinion upon any Plan of Union, which may be in contemplation, but to ſtate the general arguments which reſpect the ſubject, and to prove that it ought to be diſcuſſed with temper, and that it deſerves ſuch a diſcuſſion.

Let us firſt view the queſtion in the abſtract.—Two independent ſtates, finding their ſeparate exiſtence mutually inconvenient, propoſe to form themſelves into one ſtate for their mutual benefit.

Such is the Queſtion of Union, than which no queſtion can be deviſed more fit for ſober and philoſophica argument.

Again:—Every independent ſociety or ſtate has a right, conſiſtent with its exiſting duties and obligations, to propoſe the means which appear moſt probable, for the attainment of the happineſs of its people.

If it appears probable that ſuch happineſs can beſt be attained by remaining in its preſent ſtate, ſeparate

ſeparate and independent of any other country, ſeparation and independency ought to be maintained at all hazards. If it appears probable, that ſuch happineſs can beſt be attained by a federal or an Incorporate Union with another country, ſuch an Union ought to be the national object.

When the Seven United Provinces, being cruelly oppreſſed by the Spaniſh Government, ſeparated from that Government, in order to eſcape from tyranny, and to ſecure liberty and happineſs, they acted according to right, in declaring and eſtabliſhing their independence.

When the Sabines found they could not maintain themſelves any longer againſt the Romans, and ſaw, that by uniting with them, they had an opportunity of increaſing their liberty, their happineſs, and their power, they acted according to the principles of reaſon and right, in relinquiſhing their ſeparate independency as a ſtate, and by their Union laid the foundation of Roman greatneſs.

This reaſoning and theſe inſtances, form a complete anſwer to all declamation upon the common topics of national dignity and national pride. Were any perſon to exclaim, "who ſhall dare to propoſe, that the independence of Ireland ſhall be annihilated?" I would anſwer him by another

queſtio

queſtion—If the liberty, the conveniences, the happineſs, the ſecurity of the people of Ireland, will be improved by an incorporation of the Iriſh with the Britiſh legiſlature, ſhall we not for ſuch advantages endeavour to procure that incorporation?

England was formerly divided into ſeven kingdoms, which were continually engaged in predatory wars with each other, and the iſland was a general ſcene of confuſion and barbariſm. A wiſe and ſagacious prince united theſe ſeparate kingdoms into one Empire. Did the people of the Heptarchy loſe their independence by this Union? Was a Mercian degraded by becoming an Engliſhman? Were the people of the ſeven nations made dependent; or were they debaſed and enſlaved by aboliſhing the local regulations which divided them into ſeparate and hoſtile ſocities, deſtructive of themſelves and each other, and by aſſociating and uniting under one regimen, one code of government, and one ſovereignty?

We might extend this reaſoning, were it not too obvious, both to Wales and Scotland: How is a Welchman degraded by being repreſented in the Britiſh Parliament? How is a Scot enſlaved by becoming a Briton?

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The queſtion of forming an Union between two countries, muſt never be confuſed with the ſubjection of one country to another.—The latter is ſuppoſed to be the reſult of force, the former of conſent; the latter is calculated to extinguiſh the power and independence of one of the parties; the former, by the communication of privilege and the Union of ſtrength, to increaſe the power and independence of both. The one is therefore, never to be ſubmitted to, but from neceſſity, the other may be the object of choice.

An Union may be compared to a partnerſhip in trade. If a merchant finds, that from circumſtances of ſituation, want of credit or capital, he cannot carry on his buſineſs alone, with advantage, will he not be wiſe to unite himſelf, if poſſible, to an extenſive and wealthy ferme, and to become a ſharer in proportion to his contribution of induſtry and capital, in the ſecure profits of an eſtabliſhed houſe?

If, therefore, the meaſure of forming an Union between two kingdoms, whoſe ſeparate exiſtence is inconvenient, is abſtractedly agreeable to reaſon and philoſophy; and if, in many inſtances, it has been attended with advantage to the contracting parties, it is plainly a ſubject for temperate diſcuſſion.

If

If an Union may be advantageous, in what caſes is it likely to be moſt ſo?

An Union preſuppoſes that, when it is completed, the contracting ſtates ſhall be bound together by the ſame Conſtitution, Laws, and Government; and by an identity of intereſts, and equality of privileges.

When, therefore, one of the States, deſirous to form an Union, is inferior in point of civilization, agriculture, commerce, manufactures, morals, manners, eſtabliſhments, conſtitution; and the other State is eminent and ſuperior to all the world in theſe advantages; it is evident, that an Union, in ſuch a caſe, muſt be moſt beneficial to the former; for there is every probability, that the Union will communicate, by degrees, all its advantages and excellencies; and the inferior Society will be thus placed in a ſtate of continual emulation, and improvement.

Let us compare then the ſituations of Great Britain and Ireland. The former enjoys the beſt practical Conſtitution and Government which any nation has ever experienced; the people are in general the moſt civilized, the moſt obedient to Law, the moſt honeſt in dealing, the moſt decent

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in morals, the moſt regular in Religion of any people in Europe. They have the beſt agriculture, the moſt extenſive commerce, and have carried manufactures, arts, and ſciences beyond any other nation. Their ſoldiery is brave and orderly; their naval greatneſs is unrivalled.

Now, in many of theſe particulars, we acknowledge and lament the inferiority of Ireland—our civil and religious diſcontents, jealouſies and diſturbances; the conſpiracies, the inſurrections, the rebellions which have diſgraced us, proclaim our defects in civilization and policy—that the former is not ſufficiently diffuſed to prevent irregularity and licentiouſneſs; nor the latter ſtrong enough to repreſs them. Our agriculture is by no means perfect; there is only one manufacture of great importance; and commerce, though it has been of late years encreaſed beyond our hopes, is not carried to that extent which the powers and reſources of the nation are able to reach.

Let theſe countries be united, and identified in government, in policy, in intereſt, what muſt be the unavoidable conſequence?—Ireland will be gradually riſing to the level of England; or England gradually ſinking to the level of Ireland; and it is obvious which is moſt probable.

If any perſon has a ſon uneducated, unimproved, and injured by bad habits, and bad company;

company; in order to remedy theſe imperfections, would it not be his firſt endeavour to eſtabliſh him in the beſt ſocieties, and introduce him into the moſt virtuous, the moſt poliſhed, and the moſt learned company; and if he could once reconcile him to ſuch companies, and teach him to reliſh their converſation, would he not be certain of his ſon's improvement, and of his finally turning out to his credit and ſatisfaction?

What can any ſanguine Iriſh Patriot wiſh for his country, but that its inhabitants ſhould attain the ſame habits, manners, and improvement which make England the envy of Europe? and by what means can he hope to attain that end ſo effectually, as by uniting with her Government, and binding up all her intereſts and concerns in the ſame bottom?

Suppoſing there were no other reaſons which rendered the Union of the Siſter Kingdoms deſireable, the ſtate of Europe, and eſpecially of France, ſeems to dictate its peculiar policy at the preſent day. France has not only united to herſelf, and incorporated a great addition of territory, but has rendered abſolutely dependent on her will, almoſt all the ſmaller ſtates which ſurround her. Geneva is incorporated, Savoy is incorporated, all the Auſtrian provinces in Flanders, all the German ſtates, on this ſide of the Rhine, are incorporated.

Spain

Spain is ſubject to her influence; Holland, Switzerland, Sardinia, and the new Republic of Italy, are occupied by her armies; to every country ſhe extends her principles, and her intrigues, and on this kingdom her deſigns have been nearly ſucceſsful. No continental power could reſiſt her arms, Great Britain alone maintained the conteſt: but, in proportion as the power of France is increaſed, ſo ought the ſtrength of the Britiſh Empire to be augmented. If, from the diſunited ſtate of the Britiſh Empire, any particular part of it has become open to the attacks of France, or of its republican faction in England, that avenue of diſunion ſhould be cloſed. How could it have been poſſible for England to have formed the barrier, which ſhe has oppoſed to the French power, if Scotland as well as Ireland, at this day, had continued a ſeparate kingdom, equally open to French intrigue? She would probably have fallen a ſacrifice to France, and the liberties of Europe would have fallen with her.

France well knows the principle and the force of incorporations. Every ſtate which ſhe unites to herſelf, ſhe makes part of her empire, *one and indiviſible*, and will not ſuffer any mention to be made in negociation of reſtitution. Whilſt in her affected plans of policy for the liberties of the Britiſh Empire, ſhe maintains the principal of ſeparation, as eſſential to freedom, ſhe conſiders the

Union of England and Scotland as an uſurpation of the former; and leaving England to her fate, would make Scotland and Ireland ſeparate Republics. France well knows the adage, *dum ſinguli pugnant univerſi vincuntur*; and ſhe has played that game ſucceſsfully; but as we wiſh to check the ambition of that deſperate, and unprincipled power, and if that end can only be effected by maintaining and augmenting the power of the Britiſh Empire, we ſhould be favourable to the principle of Union, which muſt increaſe and conſolidate its reſources.

If an Union may be deſirable between two independent kingdoms, it muſt be moſt deſirable when ſuch two kingdoms are united under one Sovereign, and have ſeparate legiſlatures; for they have all the diſadvantages without the advantages of an Union. The Sovereign muſt reſide in one of the kingdoms: *there* would of courſe be the metropolis of the empire; *there* would be the real ſeat of the government; thence would flow all the counſels; and thither would reſort thoſe, who wiſhed for favour and emolument. The kingdom, where the monarch did not reſide, not having the origination of all counſels and meaſures, and having much of its rents carried away by abſentees, would be in a perpetual ſtate of jealouſy and diſcontent; and being ſeparate in all reſpects, but in the individual perſon of the monarch, would

would be a prey to foreign faction; and an empire, thus compoſed, could never be in a ſtate of full ſecurity, for there never could be a certainty that all parts of it would purſue the ſame ſyſtem.

The objections to this predicament were ſo ſtrong in Scotland before the Union, that the Scots brought in a Bill of Settlement, to provide that their Monarch ſhould never be the ſame perſon as the King of England; upon this the alternative of Union or Separation became inevitable, and at length they wiſely preferred the former—What has been the conſequence? The Scots, becoming entitled to all the privileges of Britiſh ſubjects, have greatly added to their own civilization and wealth; have enjoyed internal tranquillity and ſecurity; and enabled Great Britain, by the conſolidation of the whole iſland under one Government, to reach that height of proſperity and glory which makes her the envy and the protectreſs of Europe.

In the ſituation which Scotland held previous to the Union does Ireland ſtand at preſent; except that the Crown of Ireland is by expreſs ſtatutes of declaration and recognition perpetually annexed to and dependent upon the Crown of England; ſo that whoever is King of England, is in right of that title, *ipſo facto*, King of Ireland. The King of Ireland, as the King of Scotland before the Union, reſides in another kingdom. The counſels for the

the Government of Ireland are framed in the Britiſh Cabinet; the Government of Ireland is actually adminiſtered by a Britiſh Lord Lieutenant, who diſtributes the patronage of the Crown; the Iriſh Parliament is ſuppoſed to be in a great degree ſubject to Britiſh influence, and near one million of the rents of the kingdom are annually exported to Abſentees. The jealouſies upon theſe points are great and unavoidable, and form the perpetual topic for inflaming the minds of the people in newſpapers, and the unvarying theme of complaint and invective by Parliamentary Oppoſition. Nor can this inconvenience ceaſe whilſt affairs remain as at preſent; for ſo long as we form part of the Britiſh Empire, we muſt acknowledge one Executive Power, one preſiding Cabinet; and it is of indiſpenſable neceſſity for that Cabinet to induce every part of the empire to purſue the ſame principles of action, and to adopt the ſame ſyſtem of meaſures, as far as poſſible: and as the intereſts of England muſt ever preponderate, a preference will be always given to her, or ſuppoſed to be given, which has the ſame effect. The Iriſh Parliament is certainly in its inſtitution independent; it may when it pleaſes act contrary to the policy of the empire; it may exhort the King to make war when the views of England are pacific; it may declare againſt a war when England is driven into one by neceſſity; and it has actually aſſerted a Right to chuſe a Regent of its own appointment,

diſtinct

diſtinct from the Regent of Great Britain; it may alſo declare againſt treaties, and refuſe to ratify commercial articles. Now if Ireland, having theſe powers, ſhould at any time exert them in oppoſition to the conduct of England, the empire would be endangered or diſſolved; and ſo long as the Parliament of Ireland, from motives of diſcretion and prudence, does not exert them, it will be ſubject to the imputation of being meanly and corruptly ſubſervient to the Britiſh Cabinet; and the imputation being conſtantly repeated and always liable to be renewed, will have in future, as it has had already, a prejudicial influence on the public mind, leading the people to diſtruſt and to diſparage their legiſlature.

Add to this the melancholy reflection, that the Iriſh Parliament has been long made the Theatre for Britiſh Faction. When at a loſs for ſubjects of grievance in Great Britain, they ever turn their eyes to this kingdom, in the kind hope that any ſeed of diſcontent may be nouriſhed, by their foſtering attention, into ſtrength and maturity.—Incapable of beating the Miniſter on his own ground, they change the place of attack, and wound him from the ſide of Ireland. Need I allude to the Queſtion of the Commercial Propoſitions, the Queſtion of the Regency, and the Queſtion of the Catholics; when we have ſeen the Leaders of the Britiſh Oppoſition come forward

to

to ſupport the Character of Iriſh Rebels, to palliate and to juſtify Iriſh Treaſon, and almoſt to vindicate Iriſh Rebellion? If then, differing from Great Britain, in Imperial Queſtions, would diſſolve the Empire, and if uniformly concurring with her muſt ſubject the Parliament to perpetual imputation of criminal ſubſerviency to a foreign Cabinet; and if ſo long as an Iriſh free and independent Parliament remains, it muſt be ſubject to the Cabals of Britiſh Party; might it not be a meaſure of wiſdom to incorporate the Parliaments together, and that Ireland ſhould accept the ſame Guarantee for its Liberty and Proſperity, as ſatisfies the people of England?

It is notorious that, before the Union, Scotland had always a connexion and alliance with France; which, ſince the Union, has totally vaniſhed. Her feelings, conduct and policy have, ſince that period, been entirely Britiſh. It is equally notorious that a correſpondence was kept up with France, by a party in this kingdom, eſpecially ſo long as the Pretender lived, who had the appointment to all the Iriſh Roman Catholic Biſhoprics, and who diſpoſed of them in concert with the Court of France. It is alſo manifeſt that a connexion with France has been lately renewed upon new principles; and it is obvious that the French will never ceaſe to intrigue in this kingdom, whilſt we remain in our preſent ſtate, which preſents

ſents ſo favourable an opening to intrigue of every kind.

Now let us ſuppoſe that an Union of the Britiſh and Iriſh Legiſlatures were completed upon fair and equitable principles, what would be our new ſituation? The Monarch would remain in England as at preſent; the Abſentee proprietors of land might in ſome degree increaſe; and London, as at preſent, would be the general reſort for buſineſs, for advancement, for pleaſure. But the Britiſh Cabinet would receive a mixture of Iriſhmen, and the counſels of the Britiſh Parliament would be much influenced by the weight and ability of the Iriſh Members; all our party conteſts would be tranſferred to Great Britain; Britiſh faction would ceaſe to operate here; there would be no jealouſy of Britiſh Influence on the Cabinet or Parliament; there would be no claſhing of diſtinct intereſts, no fear of Ireland becoming too powerful to govern. France could no longer ſpeculate on the nature of our diſtinct Government and Parliament, and hope to ſeparate the kingdom, in fact, from Great Britain, as it is already ſeparated in theory. The cultivation, the improvement of Ireland, like that of Scotland, would be peculiarly attended to, as the increaſe of our wealth, conſequence, ability, and power, muſt tend to increaſe the ſecurity of the Empire, not to endanger it; and in proportion that we felt the benefit of an Union, our attachment to it would be ſtrengthened.

All

All writers have agreed in condemning what is called *imperium in imperio.* It is this vice of conſtitution which has annihilated Poland, where every ſenator was a ſovereign; and has enſlaved the Seven United Provinces, where each province was a Sovereign. Franklin and Waſhington, the founders of the American Empire, had not courage in their firſt project of a conſtitution for the American ſtates, to exclude this radical evil, but left each ſtate independent. So ſoon as the preſſure of neceſſity, which had confederated the ſtates, ceaſed in conſequence of peace, the fault of ſuch a conſtitution became evident: it was clear to men of common capacity, that an empire, conſiſting of Thirteen independent ſocieties, without one common Imperial controul, would ſoon divide into Thirteen independent empires. To obviate this neceſſary, though poſſibly diſtant conſequence, the wiſdom of the Americans projected a new conſtitution, in which this original vice was remedied; the ſeparate independency of each ſtate was wiſely relinquiſhed; a general legiſlative, and a general executive were formed for the government of the Union in every imperial concern; and each reſpective ſtate was confined to local and municipal objects. At the ſame time, a juſt deference was paid to all the Teſt Laws and religions eſtabliſhments throughout the Union; and each ſtate being allowed to maintain its eccleſiaſtical arrangements, all religious ſtruggle and animoſity was prevented.

To

To the wiſdom of this plan of Union the ſtrength and happineſs of the United States may be attributed—If each had retained to itſelf its ſeparate independent Legiſlature, is it probable that the American Empire could have laſted to the preſent day? If French intrigue had at one time ſuch influence in America as nearly to have overturned the exiſting Union, how could its efforts have been reſiſted, when the gaining of one ſtate alone might have diſſolved the Union? To injure America in its preſent form, a majority of the repreſentatives of the whole Union muſt be ſeduced; to have deſtroyed her power under her firſt Conſtitution, the corruption of one ſtate alone would have been ſufficient.

What are the ſentiments of Mr. Adams, the Preſident of the United States, with reſpect to their firſt federal, and the preſent incorporate Union—" The former," ſays he, " was formed " upon the model and example of all the con- " federacies, ancient and modern, in which the " federal council was only a diplomatic body; " even the Lycian, which is thought to have been " the beſt, was no more. The magnitude of " territory, the population, the wealth and com- " merce, and eſpecially the rapid growth of the " United States, have ſhewn ſuch a government " to be inadequate for their wants; and the new " ſyſtem, which ſeems admirably calculated to

" *unite* their intereſts and affections, and bring " them to an uniformity of principles and ſenti- " ments, is equally well combined to unite their " wills and forces as a ſingle nation. A reſult of " accommodation cannot be ſuppoſed to reach the " perfection of any one; but the conception of " ſuch an idea, and the deliberate Union of ſo " great and various a people, in ſuch a plan, is " without all partiality or prejudice, if not the " greateſt exertion of human underſtanding, the " greateſt ſingle effort of rational deliberation which " the world has ever ſeen."

If ſuch are the ſentiments of the preſent, let us advert to the opinions of their late Preſident, General Waſhington. In the letter addreſſing the preſent conſtitution of America, for acceptation, he has theſe words—" In all our deliberations upon " this ſubject, we kept ſteadily in our view, that " which appears to us the greateſt intereſt of every " true American, *the conſolidation of our Union*, " in which is involved our property, ſafety, per- " haps our national exiſtence. This important " conſideration, ſeriouſly and deeply impreſſed upon " our minds, led each ſtate in the convention to be " leſs rigid in points of inferior magnitude, than " might have been otherwiſe expected; and thus " the conſtitution, which we now preſent, is the " reſult of a ſpirit of amity, and of that mutual

" deference

" deference and conceſſion, which the peculiarity " of our political ſituation rendered indiſpen- " ſable."

When, therefore, an Union is propoſed to our conſideration, it may not be prudent for us to ſpurn at a principle, which the ſagacity of Adams, and the virtue of Waſhington, conſidered as indiſpenſable to the proſperity, ſafety, and perhaps the exiſtence of America; a principle, which has diſappointed the prophecy of politicians, that the American Union would ſplit into ſeparate and contemptible ſtates; which has preſerved her from the intrigue and corruptions and inſolence of France; and which enables her to defy the menaces of that unprincipled power with conſcious ſuperiority.

Having conſidered a few general topics, which the queſtion of Union naturally ſuggeſts, let us examine the arguments which reſult from the particular ſituation of Ireland, as to its property, its eſtabliſhments, and religious diviſions.

Nine-tenths of the property of Ireland are in poſſeſſion of Britiſh Deſcendants. Their lands were taken from the original inhabitants, and confirmed to the preſent poſſeſſors, chiefly by the Act of Settlement; but a large part of them was held under Britiſh Acts of Parliament for a century. The poſſeſſors of theſe lands are of the Proteſtant religion,

religion, and acknowledge the King as the head of their church; whereas, the original inhabitants are Catholics, and acknowledge the ſpiritual juriſdiction of a foreign power. Theſe Proteſtants, thus poſſeſſing nine-tenths of the property, are only one-fourth of the inhabitants in number, and they have been obliged to rely upon Britiſh aſſiſtance, for the preſervation of their property and exiſtence at different periods.

The eſtabliſhed Religion is the Proteſtant, and the Church is, in Conſtitution, ſimilar to that of England, and endowed with the Tythes of the whole kingdom, and with great property in land. The paſtors of the diſſenting Proteſtants are in a degree ſupported by grants of the Legiſlature.

The Catholics having ſhewn great power in the conteſt at the Revolution, were long ſubjected to a ſevere code of laws, which kept them in ſubordination; that code has, within theſe few years, been almoſt entirely repealed; but, though they enjoy a complete toleration, they are by no means contented, but demand political equality with the Proteſtants, and ſuch an alteration in the Parliamentary Conſtitution, as will give their numbers proportionate power.

The Proteſtants, recollecting the ſtruggles which were made by the Catholics in the reign of Elizabeth,

Elizabeth, in the reign of Charles the Firſt, and in the reign of James the Second, and poſſibly fancying that they diſcover ſimilar views in the preſent unhappy conteſt, act with diſtruſt and caution. They plauſibly argue, that thoſe who have the ſuperiority of number, when once they can obtain the power, will not long want the property of the ſtate. They guard therefore with vigilance their Eccleſiaſtical and Parliamentary Eſtabliſhments, and look to Great Britain as the guarantee of their ſafety and importance.

The Proteſtants ſtate, that when the Catholics were reſtrained by ſevere laws, the kingdom continued in tranquillity for a century; but ſo ſoon as national confidence, the reſult of that tranquillity, induced them to repeal the reſtrictions by which the Catholics were bound, the ancient ſpirit of rivalry revived, and the Catholics demanded ſuch a change of the Conſtitution, as would gradually transfer to them all the power of the ſtate.

The Proteſtants feel likewiſe other cauſes of diſtruſt, ſuggeſted by recent circumſtances, on which it is deſirable to caſt a veil, when accuſation on one ſide, and juſtification on the other, tend more to exaſperate than to conciliate, and to prolong our diſtractions than to heal them.

Would to God it were poſſible to bury all that has paſſed in benevolent oblivion; but ſuch a conſummation,

ſummation, though devoutly wiſhed, cannot be ſuddenly expected. Whilſt the opinions of Europe are afloat; when all the foundations of ſociety are, as it were, broken up and torn aſunder; when all the old principles and notions, which bound us together in ſubordination and peace, are looſened or diſſolved; when it appears dubious and uncertain what turn the public mind will aſſume, and in what ſyſtem it will ultimately repoſe; the expectation of any quick return to former diſpoſitions of confidence, and habits of amity, are poſſibly chimerical.

In the mean while, under the preſent temper and feelings, it is not to be hoped that Proteſtants will conſent to ſurrender their political powers, much leſs can they be perſuaded, that they could do it with ſafety.

At the ſame time, whilſt Ireland continues a ſeparate kingdom, the Catholics will not drop their claims, nor the argument of numbers in their favour. So far from dropping their claims, they have already renewed them; and the Catholics of Waterford, in an addreſs to the Lord Lieutenant, have repeated their demand for political equality, and advanced it on a plea of merit. They have ſtill, and will ever have electioneering partiſans in Parliament, and ſpeculative

advocates

advocates in England to feed their hopes; and they will be ſupported by every open oppoſer, or ſecret ill-wiſher to the government.

If then the ſeparate Conſtitution and Eſtabliſhments, and Teſt Laws of Ireland, are to continue as at preſent, the kingdom muſt remain in a continual ſtate of irritation. The numbers of Catholics compared to Proteſtants are as three to one. Modern political writers upon Religious Eſtabliſhments lay it down as a principle, that every ſtate ought to eſtabliſh that religious ſect which is moſt numerous; but as it happens that, in Ireland, the moſt numerous religious ſect does not acknowledge the ſupremacy of the ſtate, but profeſſes itſelf to be ſubject to a foreign juriſdiction; their religion could not be eſtabliſhed, without deſtroying the Conſtitution, which is founded on the principles of Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Liberty, and the excluſion of foreign interference and juriſdiction.

But ſuppoſe, at length, that the Proteſtants, worn out by importunity, concede to the demand of political Equality made by the Catholics—what are the conſequences?

In the firſt place, the preſent Parliamentary Teſt Oaths muſt be repealed, and a new Oath framed to meet Catholic feelings, and admit the juriſdiction of the Pope.

In the ſecond place, the Act of Supremacy and of Uniformity muſt be repealed. For nothing could be ſo abſurd, as to make men who deny the ſupremacy of the King, and the competency of Parliament in Eccleſiaſtical Concerns, members of the ſupreme power, viz. the Legiſlature; and at the ſame time, to ſubject theſe very men to the penalties of Premunire and Treaſon for denying that ſupremacy and competency.

In the third place, you eſtabliſh the principle, that the ſtate is indifferent in religious concerns, and that it is of no conſequence to the ſtate, what is the religion of its ſubjects; from which it follows, either that there ought to be no eſtabliſhed religion at all, but that religion ſhould be left to chance—or ſecondly, that all religions ſhould be equally eſtabliſhed—or thirdly, that if one is to be eſtabliſhed for the ſake of religious inſtruction, it ought to be the religion of the majority, which is the Catholic.

In the fourth place, you eſtabliſh, or acquieſce in the right of the Pope to a real, and eſſential juriſdiction within this realm, in all matters relating to the Church and its Government; and the right which has been aſſerted of the College of Cardinals, which is the Pope's Cabinet, to manage the eccleſiaſtical affairs of Ireland.

Thus

Thus ſo ſoon as the Catholics of Ireland are admitted into the Legiſlature, and the Teſt Oaths and Act of Supremacy repealed, the Proteſtant Church Eſtabliſhment becomes a public wrong. *That* Eſtabliſhment is defenſible at preſent, becauſe, on principles of reaſon, and from the nature of a free conſtitution, no religious ſect can claim a right to be eſtabliſhed and ſupported by the ſtate which denies the competency of the ſtate to regulate their conduct; but when that principle is abandoned, the defence of the Proteſtant Church Eſtabliſhment is abandoned alſo.

It further follows, from the admiſſion of the Catholics to political equality, that the frame of the Houſe of Commons ſhould be reformed. It is a known hiſtorical fact, that the Iriſh Houſe of Commons was framed with the ſole view of excluding Roman Catholics; when therefore the principle of excluding Roman Catholics is given up, the alteration of the Houſe of Commons in favour of the Catholics follows of courſe.

Admitting the Catholics to ſeats in the Legiſlature, and retaining the preſent Parliamentary Conſtitution, would be like inviting a man to dinner, and, on his acceptance of the invitation, ſhutting the door in his face.

If then Reform muſt follow what is called Emancipation, and one be the unavoidable conſe-

quence of the other, would not a revolution of power ſoon take place? would it not paſs from Proteſtant into Catholic hands? and what hope could the Proteſtants retain of preſerving their ſituation when they had loſt their power in the Legiſlature, and their right to the Church Eſtabliſhment?

Let us conſider then what would be the natural effects of a favourable Legiſlative Union.

Firſt.—The empire would have but one Legiſlature, one organ of the public will, and the dangers which ariſe from an *imperium in imperio*, from two ſupreme powers, would be avoided.

Secondly.—Ireland would be in a *natural* ſituation; for all the Proteſtants of the empire being united, ſhe would have the proportion of fourteen to three in favour of her eſtabliſhment; whereas at preſent there is a proportion of three to one againſt it.

Thirdly.—The Catholics would loſe the advantage of the argument of numbers, which they at preſent enjoy, and the Conſtitution of the Empire would agree with the theory.

Fourthly.—Whilſt Ireland remains a ſeparate Country from Great Britain, Great Britain is not pledged upon any ſpecific principle to ſupport one

ſect

ſect in Ireland more than another; if ſhe cannot preſerve the connexion of the two kingdoms by upholding the Proteſtants in their eſtabliſhment, their power, and their property, I know not by what tie ſhe is debarred from aſſiſting the Catholics; for whilſt the kingdoms are ſeparate and independent, Ireland, except where the Crown is concerned, is merely bound by the ties of intereſt to England, and in a ſimilar manner England is only bound by the Rights of the Crown and ties of intereſt to Ireland. She is pledged to preſerve Ireland to the Britiſh Crown, but not to any particular means or any particular principles for maintaining that connexion. But if Ireland was once united to Great Britain by a Legiſlative Union, and the maintenance of the Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment were made a fundamental article of that Union, then the whole Power of the Empire would be pledged to the Church Eſtabliſhment of Ireland, and the property of the whole empire would be pledged in ſupport of the property of every part.

An objection to this reaſoning has been made by ſtating that an Union would encreaſe Abſentee Proprietors; that the proprietors of eſtates are generally Proteſtants; that of courſe Proteſtant influence would decreaſe, and conſequently the ſecurity for Proteſtant property.

The

The anſwer to this objection is, that it does not appear that the Abſentees from Scotland increaſed after the Union, and that an argument from experience in political reaſoning is ſuperior to any argument in theory. Another mode of reply is, that ſuppoſe Abſentees were to be increaſed, this evil would be compenſated by the ſolid advantage of having a fixed unalterable Conſtitution, and of having the whole power and property of Great Britain its guarantees. When once the hope of change were at an end, and the hope of forcing a change deſtroyed, diſſatisfaction would ſink into acquieſcence, and acquieſcence ſoften into content.

Another objection is, that if an Union be made upon Proteſtant Principles, it cannot fail to excite the oppoſition of the Catholics, and to encreaſe their diſaffection to a Government which perpetually bars them from power; that conſequently the Catholics would be more and more diſpoſed to cultivate a foreign connexion, and, when free from the vigilance of a Proteſtant Reſident Parliament, more likely to effectuate that connexion, and the plans reſulting from it, without being detected.

To ſolve this objection it is only neceſſary to ſtate it as a *petitio principii*. What ground is there to aſſume that the Catholics will oppoſe an Union, though founded on Proteſtant Principles?

Why

Why may not an Union be ſo ſhaped, as to be favourable to the Proteſtants, without being unfavourable to the Catholics?

Firſt.—A Free Toleration will be ſecured to their Religion. Their power of electing Repreſentatives will be perpetuated, as well as their capacity of filling moſt of the offices of State.

Second.—It may be adviſeable to connect with an Union a proper ſupport for their Clergy and ſome ſyſtem of regulation for their Church, not inconſiſtent with their Eccleſiaſtical Principles, and calculated to do away miſconceptions of their religious tenets, and to diſcontinue practices which have been attended with inconvenience.

Third.—The diſſenſions which ariſe in counties from Candidates ſtanding on the Proteſtant or Catholic intereſts, and all little pariſh jealouſies will ceaſe, from which circumſtance great inconveniences have been already felt.

Fourth.—If the Proteſtant Intereſt be ſecured, there will be no neceſſary ſtate partiality towards Proteſtants, which is a natural ſource of complaint.

Fifth.—Catholics will feel more confident under a Legiſlature framed upon a more extended baſis, where

where the majority of members will not be influenced againſt them by local prejudices or antipathies.

Sixth.—Sectarian ſtruggle will terminate, and, tranquillity being reſtored, animoſities will gradually relax; and there being no ground for political jealouſy and contention, the habits and connexions of ſocial life will re-produce confidence and friendſhips, where exiſt, at preſent, rivalry and ſuſpicion.

Seventh.—An opening may be left in any plan of Union, for the future admiſſion of Catholics to additional privileges. And Proteſtants can never object to ſuch an opening, as they may reſt aſſured, that the Britiſh Proteſtant Parliament will not imprudently admit Catholic pretenſions, as the Teſt Laws could not be partially repealed; and it is evident, that the Catholics could not force their claims with hoſtility againſt the whole power of Great Britain and Ireland.

Eighth.—The Catholics are moſt numerous in the ſouth and weſt of Ireland; and it is conceived, that thoſe parts of the kingdom would be moſt benefited by an Union, as to agricultural and commercial advantages.

Ninth.—As all the ſtruggles of the Catholics for political predominancy have failed, and as they cannot hope to carry their wiſhes by domeſtic or even

even foreign force, they would do well to adopt a ſettlement, which would enſure them many political and all civil advantages, and to reſt ſatisfied with a much greater degree of toleration than Proteſtants have ever enjoyed under a Catholic ſtate.

To anſwer the other objection which was ſtated, we may obſerve, it does not follow that, if an Union were made, that the government of reland would be leſs vigilantly adminiſtered; it probably would be adminiſtered with more attention; becauſe it would be leſs diſtracted by the buſineſs of party and of Parliament; and for the ſame reaſons, it would be adminiſtered more impartially.

With regard to Diſſenters, they are ſuppoſed to be in a ratio of about one-ſeventh to the whole population of the kingdom, and of one-ſixth to the Catholics. They are moſtly manufacturers, and ſome of them are merchants; but they have little influence in the preſent repreſentation.

Whilſt Ireland remains a ſeparate kingdom, they are the leaſt conſiderable body of the people; but were an Union formed with Great Britain, the Diſſenting intereſt would be in a very different ratio in the empire, and their importance and power would proportionably riſe.

It

It is difficult to comprehend the wiſdom of their junction with the Catholics, in order to overthrow the Proteſtant power and eſtabliſhment; for, ſuppoſing their project to have been completed, they would have been at the mercy of their allies.

If they had ſucceeded in their plans with the Catholics, their conſequence in the ſtate would have been probably annihilated; if an Union takes place, their importance in the empire will encreaſe; and, as to their ſtaple manufacture, it will be ſecured for ever.

As it is probable that a modus for Tythes will accompany the meaſure of an Union, both Catholics and Diſſenters would be eſſentially relieved and benefited by that part of a new ſyſtem.

Some perſons have conceived that it might be advantageous to the Diſſenters, if the government of their Church were more aſſimilated to the Church of Scotland, which is under the moſt excellent diſcipline; but when the ſtumbling block of Tythes is removed, they may probably fall in with the Proteſtant Church. The cauſes of difference between Proteſtants and Diſſenters have been for ſome time obſolete, and they reſort to ſeparate congregations, more from early prejudice and cuſtom, than from any rational or even alledged neceſſity.

Having

Having conſidered briefly in what manner an Union would affect the great religious deſcriptions of the people, we may proceed to examine its influence on the different orders and claſſes of the State.

The Peerage would probably, in any plan of Union, be repreſented like the Scotch peers, by a delegation to the Britiſh Parliament. This arrangement would not affect thoſe nobles who are peers of Great Britain, and it would be favourable to thoſe who reſide in Great Britain. There are forty-one of the former claſs, and about eighty of the latter. The remaining fourſcore peers who attend Parliament occaſionally, would be the only peers materially intereſted, but almoſt all of them have conſiderable property in land; and as all perſonal privileges and prerogatives would remain to them, the general advantages of an Union, in giving permanent ſecurity to their titles and their properties, would compenſate any diminution of conſequence they might feel from their not being all certain of ſeats in the Britiſh Parliament.

The ſpiritual peers would be amply recompenſed by the ſecurity given to their dioceſan eſtates, and to the general intereſts and eſtabliſhments of the church.

The ſame reaſoning will apply to thoſe who have parliamentary influence in the Houſe of Commons: Yet it muſt be acknowledged that ſome ſacrifices muſt be made of power, of emolument, of importance. Many ſchemes have been in circulation for adjuſting the repreſentation of this kingdom in the Britiſh Parliament. It is not the deſign of this publication to examine them; but can it be doubted that a reaſonable repreſentation may be ſelected, which, however it muſt interfere with the conveniencies of ſome individuals, will give this kingdom a proportionate influence in the Houſe of Commons of the empire? There is no difficulty in the ſubject ſo great, which may not be obviated and overcome, is of importance to be attained, and if we ſeriouſly endeavour to effect it.

The chief oppoſition to the meaſure muſt be expected from the Bar, who are ſuppoſed to be more perſonally intereſted againſt it than any claſs in ſociety. It is a general habit in the gentlemen of Ireland to educate their ſons at the Temple, and the number of barriſters is much greater in proportion here than in England. And as the profeſſion will not ſupport, by any means, the numbers which purſue it, lawyers in Ireland extend their circle to politics, and are very numerous in Parliament, and extremely active in the buſineſs of it. In England there are few lawyers in the Houſe of Commons; whereas in Ireland they are a formidable

a formidable phalanx. Were a legiſlative Union to take place, Iriſh lawyers would be deprived of the parliamentary market for their abilities and ambition; they could not attend the Britiſh Parliament without renouncing buſineſs; they would be entirely confined to profeſſional proſpects; and mere political emoluments and ſituations would be taken from their graſp.

But when oppoſition to an Union comes forward from the Bar, it muſt be taken into conſideration, that the very reaſons which make the Bar oppoſe an Union, are arguments in favour of it.

1. It is obviouſly the intereſt of the nation, that the law ſhould be accurately and deeply ſtudied; and it will be more probable that ſtudents will pay attention to their profeſſion when their hopes of advancement are confined to knowledge and ability in the line of it. In proportion as you have abler lawyers, you will have abler judges, eſpecially when the temptation of placing them upon the rom political reaſons, is removed.

2. It is obvious that it would be prudent to exclude from the Legiſlature, young adventurers, who have but little ſtake in the country, who have acquired by habit a facility of ſpeaking upon every ſubject, and upon every ſide of a ſubject, and who

who only conſider a ſeat in Parliament as the means of bringing their abilities to market.

It does not, however, appear that the proſpects of the Bar would be materially injured by an Union; the offices to which lawyers are uſually appointed, would remain the ſame; and if the road to them was more through profeſſional merit, than Parliamentary ſervices, it does not appear, that either the Bar or the Public would be injured.

It is ſaid, alſo, that the oppoſition of the Bar is not likely to be unanimous; and that ſome leading characters, who have thought moſt on the ſubject, and who are capable of thinking beſt, who ought to have great weight, where their intereſt is in no ſhape concerned, and where purſuit of public good can alone ſway their opinions; ſo far from conſidering an Union as deſtructive, conceive it as pregnant with ſolid and permanent benefit. Aged and experienced characters are certainly as liable to political temptations, as the virtuous ardency of youth; but where no private intereſt can operate, and eſpecially where the point of intereſt, the *cui bono*, lies againſt an opinion given, one ſhould never heſitate between the natural precipitation of youth, and the cautious deciſions of experience.

To

To demonſtrate to the Clergy the advantages of an Union, would be loſt labour indeed; if they are ſuppoſed in general to be ſufficiently ſenſible to the intereſts of the Church, we may ſafely leave them to their uſual diſcernment, in the queſtion before us.

The gentlemen of landed property, would be merely affected, as the proſperity of the kingdom in general would be increaſed or diminiſhed. If an Union would produce tranquillity, ſecurity, commercial and agricultural advantages, eſtates in lands would be proportionably benefited. Political conteſts, party ſtruggles may be the harveſt of enterprizing adventurers; but they blight the hopes, and blaſt the fortunes of country gentlemen. Land in England, during times of peace, is ſold from thirty to forty years purchaſe; in Ireland the price of land ſeldom exceeds twenty years purchaſe. This is attributable to the ſuppoſed different ſtate of tranquillity and ſecurity of the two kingdoms. The continual inſurrections in different parts of the country, of White Boys, Oak Boys, Right Boys, Defenders, United Iriſhmen, have made reſidence unſafe, and diminiſhed the certainty of rents, and the value of tenure. If it is probable that an Union would put an end to theſe diſorders by introducing ſteadineſs of adminiſtration, and regular ſubordination, the value of eſtates would gradually riſe to the Engliſh level,

and

and ſpeculators in land, would naturally prefer this kingdom as the ſcene of improvement and experiment in proportion as the ſoil is in general ſuperior to that of England, and from being leſs improved, more fit for experiment. The monied capital of England, has of late years been increaſed to ſuch a degree, that, notwithſtanding the enormous loans which have been borrowed by Government, the monied men are embarraſſed in what manner to inveſt their capitals with advantage and ſecurity. When a peace arrives, and loans ſhall ceaſe, the difficulty of employing capital will be augmented; and there can be no doubt that, if the ſtate of this country can be rendered ſecure, it will be abundantly employed in Iriſh purchaſes and Iriſh ſpeculation.

It is alſo certain, that Great Britain does not produce ſufficient corn for her conſumption; it muſt be a great object, therefore, for Iriſh landed gentlemen to ſecure a preference in the Britiſh market for ever, which an Union would certainly effect.

As we ſuppoſe the Union, which we are diſcuſſing, will confer all commercial advantages which Great Britain enjoys upon Iriſh ſubjects, it would be loſt time to prove that our merchants muſt be gainers by the meaſure. The Britiſh adminiſtration, in order to encreaſe the wealth of the kingdom, for the purpoſes of power, are perpetually employed in

in deviſing the means of extending the commerce of England; and under the wiſe regulations of that Government, a commerce has been eſtabliſhed, and by the late naval victories has been ſecured, which is the aſtoniſhment of the world. An Union then will place the Iriſh merchant upon an equality with the Britiſh, and he will be certain to enjoy, for ever, the ſame privileges, protection, regulations, bounties and encouragements, as are enjoyed by the greateſt commercial country that ever flouriſhed.

The queſtion of Union will be debated in the metropolis, and one of the chief arguments againſt it is, that it will ruin the metropolis, and render it a deſert. The ſame argument was uſed moſt powerfully at the time of the Scotch Union, with regard to Edinburgh: the deſertion of that capital was predicted; the bankruptcy of its ſhopkeepers, the ruin of its proprietors, were foretold and inſiſted upon; yet, notwithſtanding the Union, and the prophecy, Edinburgh, ſo far from decaying, has flouriſhed more ſince the Union, than it had done before. It will be conſidered, that Dublin *muſt* ſtill be the reſidence of a Viceroy and his court; that ſciences, arts, amuſements, may be cultivated in proportion, as there will be leſs attention to politics; that it will be the ſeat of juſtice, which will be adminiſtered as at preſent; the chief ſeat of revenue, and the head-quarters of the army. It will probably monopolize the corn trade

trade between Great Britain and Ireland; and from the circumſtance of the Canals, which are making in every part of England, and communicating with London, its commerce for all Engliſh goods with Liverpool, will greatly increaſe; and in proportion, as canals from Dublin are carried to different parts of the kingdom, it will be the depôt for their conſumption in all articles of Britiſh manufacture and import.

A ſimilar prediction is made as to the depopulation of the country in general; and with much leſs reaſon. For what induces reſidence? Is it not peace, and comfort, and ſecurity? What has baniſhed ſo many families, but the loſs of theſe invaluable bleſſings? Reſtore to Ireland good humour and tranquillity, and comfort, and ſecurity; her fugitives will ſoon return. Taxes will be lower in Ireland, living will be cheaper; theſe advantages, aſſiſted by the natural attraction of property, and the place of nativity, will ſoon bring back the proprietors of the ſoil. Property is ever fluctuating; men of eſtate are apt to be imprudent and prodigal; and the accumulations of wealth, acquired by the lawyer, the merchant, the manufacturer, and the farmer, are ultimately inveſted in the purchaſe of land. New purchaſers do not eaſily abandon their property; as, therefore the wealth and trade of the country encreaſe, the purchaſers of land will encreaſe, and with new purchaſers new reſidents.

The

The adverſaries of an Union admit, that it will be beneficial to trade and manufactures; we need not then be terrified by alarms of depopulation.

The next city in conſequence to the metropolis is Cork, which enjoys a ſituation particularly calculated for foreign trade, and an excellent harbour for Men of War to reſort to, for the protection of the iſland and its commerce. It is alſo the emporium of proviſions for the Britiſh Navy, and a place for all homeward bound convoys to make to in times of war, when the channel might be dangerous to approach. From the convenience of the ſituation of Cork, it would probably, after an Union, become a Marine Station, and a Dock-yard would be there formed. It is known that the three preſent harbours of England, viz. the Thames, Portſmouth, and Plymouth, are inadequate to the extent of the navy; and that a new ſtation is greatly wanted. If an Union were once effected, there can be little doubt that Cork would be ſelected for the purpoſe.

Limerick and Waterford would not be particularly affected, except in proportion as an Union, by inducing the import of Britiſh capital, and the general extenſion of trade, would naturally augment their commercial exertions; and this general argument is applicable to all parts of the South-weſt.

With regard to the North of Ireland, which carries on a manufacture of linen, of which 52,000,000 of yards have been exported in one year; all that can be deſired is to confirm a trade, which, by its extent, ſeems a monopoly. Great Britain gives a preference in her market, to Iriſh over German linens of 37 per cent. and grants a bounty of three half-pence a yard on all Iriſh linens re-exported, the value of which does not exceed eighteen-pence a yard. Theſe advantages in favour of the North of Ireland, England might repeal or diminiſh, whenever ſhe pleaſes; by an Union, they might be fixed for ever.

It may now be deſirable to obviate ſeveral objections which are naturally and generally brought forward to diſſuade Ireland from an Union.

Firſt.—*An Union would extinguiſh Ireland.* The name may remain, and ſurely it will not extinguiſh the people and the ſoil; though it may meliorate both. If its repreſentatives ſit in the ſame place with its Executive, and by that means obtain great influence in the councils of the Empire; and the ſame ſecurity for its Conſtitution as the people of England enjoy, how will Ireland be extinguiſhed?

Second

Second.—*What can be ſuch madneſs and folly as for a people to ſend its Legiſlature from the Metropolis of their own Country, which is convenient to all its Members, to ſit in the Metropolis of another Country, ſeparated by the ſea, at a great diſtance, to the inconvenience of all its Members?*

The anſwer to this objection is, that Ireland is part of an Empire; that the King of Ireland reſides in that diſtant Metropolis; that having two Legiſlatures in one Empire is incompatible with its ſafety; that a Conſolidation of thoſe Legiſlatures promiſes great advantages; that the diſtance of Ireland from the Metropolis of England, is not greater than that of Scotland; that in the French Republic the diſtance of Toulon and many other parts from Paris, is much greater than the diſtance of Dublin from London; and that in America the diſtance of Charleſtown and other Capitals from Philadelphia, is in the ſame proportion; yet no inconvenience is felt in theſe caſes; and the inconvenience of diſtance may be eaſily balanced by the advantages of Union.

Third.—*Shall we tamely reſign that Legiſlature whoſe Independence was ſo glorioufly aſſerted and eſtabliſhed by the arms of the Volunteers?*

It is not intended to detract from the merit of the Volunteers of Ireland. In aſſerting the independence

pendence of the Legiſlature of Ireland, they were convinced they were promoting her happineſs and ſecurity; they meant well, they acted nobly, but they have failed in ſucceſs. The ſecurity and happineſs of Ireland is at preſent ſuſpended. It does not appear that the continuance of a ſeparate Legiſlature will reſtore it. Some new arrangement muſt be tried. If the Volunteers of Ireland armed for the happineſs of their country, they armed for a ſeparate Legiſlature, provided that could obtain it; but if that has failed, and nothing but an Union can procure it, they armed for an Union; it was not the means but the end which was in their contemplation. To ſecure the liberty and the property of their countrymen, to encreaſe the happineſs and proſperity of their country, were their objects; and whoever beſt purſues thoſe objects, fights in their cauſe, and enliſts under their banners. Can we ſuppoſe, if, in 1779, Ireland had been united to Great Britain by an identity of Legiſlature; that if her privileges had been equally great, and equally eſtabliſhed; that if we had then been in the enjoyment of a trade as free as the commerce of England; if our liberties had been ſecured by the Habeas Corpus Bill; if our judges had been independent, and if we had not been degraded by Legiſlating Privy Councils—in ſhort, if our Conſtitution had been the ſame as the Britiſh, that the Volunteers would have ſtood forth to deſtroy the proſperity and happineſs of ſuch a ſtate, and have

diſſolved

diſſolved that Union which produced them? Would they not, on the contrary, have conſidered any attempt to ſeparate the kingdoms as hoſtile, and have treated the adviſers of ſuch folly as enemies?

Nor was it ſo much the theoretic defects of our former connexion with Great Britain, which roused the Volunteers, as the practical evils reſulting from it, and eſpecially the reſtraints upon our commerce. But their acquiſitions, which removed thoſe evils and reſtraints, have produced, (as was at the time foretold) new inconveniencies and evils; What then is the ſtate of the caſe? a ſubordination of the Iriſh Legiſlature to the Britiſh, has been experienced and found injurious; a ſeparate Legiſlature has been tried, and proved inadequate to ſecure our happineſs; an incorporation with the Britiſh Parliament may ſtill be reſorted to, which promiſes to increaſe the ſecurity of our ſubordinate ſtate, and the advantages of our independent ſituation, and is in theory preferable to both.

Fourth.—*Muſt it not be the height of folly to part with the management of our own concerns for ever?*

The obvious anſwer is, that, in a fair Legiſlative Union with Great Britain, we ſhall retain as far as is neceſſary, and not part with at all the management of our concerns. We ſhall have Iriſhmen in the originating Cabinet of Great Britain; we ſhall

ſhall have a number of Iriſh Repreſentatives, in proportion to our relative conſequence, in the Parliament of the Empire. Our affairs will be there diſcuſſed by our own Members, in the preſence of the wiſeſt and freeſt aſſembly which ever exiſted, where our intereſt is their intereſt, our proſperity their proſperity, our power their aggrandizement, and where of courſe the anxiety for our welfare muſt be as great in the Britiſh as in the Iriſh part of the Legiſlature.

But this objection might as well be urged by Yorkſhire, or any county in England as by Ireland. It will be ſaid the Members for Great Britain will out-number the Members for Ireland, as five to one; ſo may Yorkſhire complain that the Members for Great Britain are in proportion to the Members for Yorkſhire as fifty to one.

The ſame weak argument was advanced at the time of the Union of Scotland; it was then refuted in terms, it has ſince been refuted by experience.

Fifth.—*A kingdom that ſubjects its own Legiſlature to the will of another kingdom, becomes its ſlave.* Let the poſition be granted and let it be allowed that it is true, with reſpect to an Union of deſpotic countries; with regard to an Union of free countries it does not apply. For an Union, preſuppoſing

ſing that the Legiſlature of the united empire is compoſed of numbers of repreſentatives, proportionate to its component parts, and that the laws to be made muſt attach generally and not partially, and that there is an identity of privileges and intereſts throughout the whole; it will follow, that ſo long as any part of the Union remains free, the whole will remain free. Who would deſire to have better ſecurity for his liberty than an Engliſhman poſſeſſes for his? The liberties of the empire are at preſent maintained by a ſeparate body of repreſentatives for Great Britain, and a ſeparate body of repreſentatives for Ireland; how will they be endangered when a common body of repreſentatives ſhall be formed on a ſcheme of mutual intereſt for the joint preſervation of the Liberties of both?

Sixth.—It is urged *that the preſent is a moſt improper time to agitate the queſtion, when the people are in ſuch a ſtate of irritation and turbulence, and the kingdom engaged in war.*

It may be argued on the other hand, that the preſent is the period moſt adapted for its diſcuſſion; for whilſt the feelings of our late misfortunes are freſh, it is natural that we ſhould be anxious to provide every ſafeguard againſt their recurrence, and that we ought not to adjourn the conſideration of our permanent ſafety to a caſual interval of peace,

peace; when a temporary enjoyment of tranquillity may render us indifferent and regardleſs.

As to a time of war, if it is true, that the Volunteers took advantage of the embarraſſments of Great Britain in the laſt war, to aſſert the independence of our Parliament; it is likewiſe true, that the United Iriſhmen in the preſent war have taken advantage of the ſuppoſed weakneſs of Great Britain to play the game of ſeparation. When, therefore, the enemies of the empire take advantage of a time of war and embarraſſment to effect its ruin, we ſhould turn againſt them their own game, and make uſe of a time of war to eſtabliſh its ſecurity.

Seventh.—*The queſtion of Union is beyond the power and competence of Parliament; a Houſe of Commons elected for eight years, cannot aboliſh the Houſe of Commons for ever.*

This objection is eaſily anſwered by conſidering the end of Legiſlative Inſtitutions, by which their competency is beſt defined. The end for which Legiſlature is eſtabliſhed by a free people is to maintain their property, to protect their charters, to ſecure the liberty of their perſons, and to conſult the convenience and happineſs of the people. Now if it be not poſſible for a Legiſlature to enſure theſe ends to its conſtituents by preſerving itſelf ſeparate from another kingdom; and, if by uniting

ing itſelf with another kingdom, it is certain or highly probable that theſe ends will be attained; it follows, that were a Legiſlature to refuſe entertaining ſuch a queſtion, it would deſert its duty, which is the purſuit of the general good. That, in the diſcuſſion of the queſtion, the Legiſlature ought to liſten to the opinion of the people, is true, and it will not act againſt that opinion if univerſal; but on the other hand, it ought not to be terrified by the clamour of a few, and ſhould be ſatisfied by general acquieſcence.

If this argument had any real weight, we could never have obtained the reformation, and the eſtabliſhment of Proteſtantiſm; we could never have procured the Revolution, and have changed the line of hereditary ſucceſſion to the throne: the Union of Scotland and England could not have been entertained. It is a common maxim in logic, that what proves too much, proves nothing; and if this maxim is applicable to ſubjects, where ſtrict reaſoning is required, it cannot be excluded from political arguments, where probabilities and experiences muſt be reſorted to; and queſtions are to be decided by the principles of moral reaſoning, not by mathematical preciſion.

Eighth.—The arguments from national dignity, and national pride, have been obviated al-

ready; but as they will be repeatedly urged, as being eaſy topics of declamation, another mode of refuting them may be ſuggeſted.

Ireland, independent Ireland, has, at this moment, its commerce, in all parts of the world, protected, without expence, by the Britiſh Navy. Her ſupplies for the year are chiefly raiſed by the Britiſh Miniſter in England, on the faith of the Britiſh Parliament; her country is protected from domeſtic and foreign enemies, by forty thouſand Britiſh troops, at the expence, to Great Britain, of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds a-year. If her dignity and pride do not ſuffer by receiving ſuch aſſiſtance and protection, how can they be injured, if ſhe makes herſelf a part of that nation, incorporates her Legiſlature into that of Great Britain, and converts that protection, which ſhe now receives as a favour, into a right?

Ninth.—*When Ireland was ſubject to the controul of the Britiſh Parliament, was ſhe not then kept down in a wretched ſtate of penury, by the tyranny of Great Britain; and will ſhe not be reduced to a ſimilar ſtate, by again ſubjecting her repreſentative to theirs? Has not all the improvement of the kingdom ariſen from the exertions of a free Legiſlature; and ſhall we conſent to part with that power, which has been the only cauſe of our proſperity?*

This

This argument would have ſome weight if an Union were a ſtate of ſubjection, from which it is eſſentially diſtinguiſhed, as has been demonſtrated before. The great advantage of an Union is, that it places Ireland on an equality with Great Britain, and prevents its ſubjection for ever. The vice of our former connexion with England was, that Great Britain made laws to bind Ireland, without binding herſelf at the ſame time, by the ſame laws. After an Union, partial laws cannot be made, where general intereſt is concerned; we ſhall have full ſecurity that the Britiſh United Parliament will never injure Ireland, becauſe it muſt at the ſame time injure Great Britain, and this is the beſt poſſible ſecurity.

It is certain, that ſince the independence of the Iriſh Legiſlature, our commerce has increaſed; but that has been effected by Great Britain admitting us to her Colony trade, and by relaxing the Navigation Laws; and if the giving us ſome of the advantages of Britiſh Commerce, has been of ſuch benefit already, what progreſs may we not expect, when all the advantages of the Britiſh Market, and Britiſh Commerce, ſhall be ſecured to us for ever, which cannot fail to be the effect of an Union

Tenth.

Tenth.—*An Union muſt be our ruin or deſtruction; all we want is a good ſteady Adminiſtration, wiſely and firmly conducted, and then all things will go well.*

Here we muſt aſk, what is meant by *a firm and ſteady Adminiſtration?* Does it mean ſuch an Adminiſtration as tends to the encreaſe of the nation in population, its advancement in agriculture, in manufactures, in wealth and proſperity? If that is intended, we have had the experience of it theſe twenty years; for it is univerſally admitted, that no country in the world ever made ſuch rapid advances as Ireland has done in theſe reſpects; yet, all her acceſſion of proſperity has been of no avail; diſcontent has kept pace with improvement, diſcord has grown up with our wealth, conſpiracy and rebellion have ſhot up with our proſperity.

What then is intended by a *ſteady and firm Adminiſtration?* Is it a determined, inflexible ſupport of Proteſtant Aſcendency, and a rigorous and indignant rejection of Catholic claims? Who will be a guarantee of that ſyſtem, and whom will it content? The Catholics will not acquieſce in its propriety. A party of Proteſtants in Ireland, term it unjuſt and abſurd; another party in England, term it by fouler names; great leaders in oppoſition, poſſibly the future miniſters of England, may condemn it; and ſome members of the Britiſh

Britiſh Cabinet are ſuppoſed to be adverſe to it. Its ſtability may reſt upon accident, upon the death of a *ſingle* character, upon the change of a Miniſter, on the temper of a Lord Lieutenant; and the policy of this ſyſtem is much doubted by the people of England.

But perhaps *a firm and ſteady Adminiſtration* means Catholic Emancipation and Reform. Dr. M'Nevin, however, and the United Iriſhmen, aſſure us, that theſe meaſures are the certain introduction of Separation and Republicaniſm, and that they were merely adopted with that view by the United Iriſhmen. *Fas eſt & ab hoſte doceri.*

If then mere attention to agricultural and commercial proſperity, and to general improvement, will not preſerve good order, ſubordination, and allegiance; if the power of maintaining Proteſtant Aſcendency is uncertain, and the project of Catholic Emancipation and Reform is pregnant with danger, ought we to reject the conſideration of a meaſure with contumely and diſdain, which places our Conſtitution on the ſame footing of ſecurity as that of Great Britain, and holds out Britiſh Principles, Britiſh Honour, and Britiſh Power, as the guarantee of our Liberties and Eſtabliſhments?

A few of the topics relating to an Union have been now diſcuſſed, and it is hoped they have been diſcuſſed

diſcuſſed in ſuch a manner as to prove that the ſubject of an Union with Great Britain deſerves the ſerious and calm deliberation of every honeſt man; that it is not to be encountered by paſſion, nor combated with arms.

An Union has this advantage—it may be our ſalvation; it cannot be our ruin.

Equal liberty, equal privilege with the people of Great Britain, guaranteed by a Parliament compoſed from the Repreſentatives of both kingdoms, and upheld by the power of all the ſubjects of the two iſlands; in ſhort, the conſolidation of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, with one Conſtitution, one King, one Law, one Religion, can never be the ruin of Ireland. It widens the foundation of our liberties, it advances our proſpects of improvement, it ſtrengthens the baſis of proſperity by encreaſing domeſtic ſecurity, and enſures our Imperial Independence by conſolidating our power.

There may be prejudices to overcome; there may be private intereſts to manage and to compenſate; there may be the intrigues of our enemies to counteract; but if the nature of our ſituation, our permanent and great intereſts, demonſtrate an Union to be ſalutary for our perpetual improvement, ſecurity, and ſtability, let us boldly follow where our reaſon leads, though private intereſt and

local

local prejudice, and hoſtile intrigue, ſhall attempt to impede and arreſt our progreſs.

The deſign of what has been written is to remove any improper prepoſſeſſion againſt an Union in general; the detail of the ſubject has not been entered upon. It may be obſerved, however, that the following points are ſuppoſed:

Firſt.—The preſervation of the Proteſtant religion and eſtabliſhment, as a fundamental article.

Second.—An equitable number of Peers and Commoners, to ſit in the Parliament of the Empire.

Third.—An equality of Rights and Privileges, and a fair adjuſtment of commerce.

Fourth.—An equitable arrangement as to revenues, debts and future taxes, ſuitable to our ſituation and powers.

Fifth.—The continuance of the civil adminiſtration in Ireland, as it ſtands at preſent accommodated to the new ſituation of the kingdom.

Sixth.—An arrangement for the Roman Catholic clergy, ſo as to put an end, if poſſible, to religious jealouſies, and to enſure the attachment of that order of men to the ſtate.

Seventh.

Seventh.—Some further proviſion to the Diſſenting clergy.

Eighth.—An arrangement with reſpect to tithes.

It is ſurely poſſible that all theſe points may be properly adjuſted, by wiſe and able men, ſo as to produce upon the whole a rational and permanent ſyſtem upon which we may ſecurely cloſe up our intereſts with thoſe of Great-Britain: But it would be uſeleſs to enter into the detail of any meaſure, ſo long as the public mind ſhould refuſe to diſcuſs its principle. If all advantages are to be rejected, becauſe they cannot be obtained but through the medium of an Union; if we had rather continue in turbulent inſecurity, than be united in proſperity and happineſs with Great-Britain; and if we prefer adhering with tenacious obſtinacy to falſe notions of Pride, rather than to cheriſh the ſentiments of true Independence, the labour of detailed reaſoning would be loſt and futile.

But as we truſt the foregoing obſervations may tend to incline every rational mind to a fair Examination and Enquiry, we may hereafter profit on the diſpoſition and temper of the Public, and ſuggeſt a ſcheme for conſideration, accompanied with calculations and details.

Some

Some of the ſtatements which have been made in this publication, ſeem to have the tendency of increaſing Party Animoſity; whereas the object of the writer is to reconcile and extinguiſh them; but he knows not how to induce men to think rightly, without making them ſee their ſituation and confeſs it.

The premiſes which have been ſtated cannot be controverted. If our ſituation be imputed to maladminiſtration, who can ſecure us from its recurrence? If to the inſtability of affairs, who can inſure their future conſiſtency? If to the prevalence of the Proteſtant Monopoly, who can induce men to relinquiſh what appears to them the ſecurity for their properties? If to the efforts of the Catholics, who can force them to abandon their claims?

Is there not ſome ſettlement to be anxiouſly wiſhed for, which may lay theſe cauſes of diſcontent aſleep, and quiet them for ever? We have been ſufficiently diſtracted and haraſſed. We have drank enough from the bitter cup of diſſenſion. Shall then any attempt to enſure tranquillity be the ſource of diſcord; ſhall the diſcuſſion of a plauſible theory lead to paſſion and reſentment; and an honeſt attempt to allay the commotions of the State, and to ſettle its jarring intereſts, be a provocation to new animoſities and freſh outrages?

The enemies of the empire have ſtated, that Ireland can never be happy until ſhe is ſeparated from England; it is the opinion of many of her friends, that ſhe never can be truly happy till ſhe is entirely united with England.

The one attempt would make Ireland the ſcene of conteſt in Europe; would deluge her with blood; would reduce her to deſolation: the latter, by making her power the power of Great Britain, and the power of Great Britain her own, would enable the Britiſh Empire to defy every hoſtile attack, and to ſecure, to the happy coaſts of the two iſlands, all the bleſſings of genuine and rational liberty, of true and ſolid independence and ſecurity.

THE END.

4

AN

UNION

NEITHER

NECESSARY OR EXPEDIENT

FOR

IRELAND:

BEING AN

ANSWER

TO THE

AUTHOR

OF

ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST AN *UNION*, BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, CONSIDERED.

BY CHARLES BALL, ESQ.

MOTOS PRÆSTAT COMPONERE FLUCTUS.

DUBLIN:

Printed by William Porter, Grafton-street.

1798.

TO THE

AUTHOR

OF A

PAMPHLET, &c. &c. &c.

SIR,

WHEN *an enterprifing adventurer in the trade of politics*, under the ſhield of darkneſs and ſecrecy, has baſely inſulted the people and parliament of Ireland, and has attempted to commit an act of deliberate treaſon, *by diſuniting for ever the realm of Ireland from the Britiſh crown*—a few hours employed in endeavouring to detect his fallacies, expoſe his arrogance, and refute his concluſions, will not be conſidered as thrown away by thoſe to whom the intereſts of the Britiſh empire, the ſecurity of Ireland, and the tranquillity of her people, are objects of affection. Under that ſentiment, I proceed to addreſs to the nation ſome obſervations which have occurred to me from the peruſal of your pamphlet.

In the firſt page of this extraordinary production, you ſtate the queſtion as " applying to all the *feelings*, *prejudices*, and *paſſions* of the human mind," and expreſs your " *only fear*" to be, " that the ſubject will not be properly debated."—How far you have been able to handle the ſubject *free from prejudice*, and *in a way likely to appeaſe the feelings* and *paſſions* of thoſe to whom your diſcourſe is addreſſed, and *to debate the ſubject properly*, it is my preſent intention to enquire.

Before that firſt page is concluded, you give a gentle hint to the People of Ireland, " that the ſubject *may come* to be decided by force," and conciſely add a warning of the " *miſchief*" which we may incur, in caſe it ſhall be found neceſſary to reſort to *that mode of debating the queſtion*; promiſing at the ſame time, that " to determine it on its own merits cannot fail to be uſeful."—What are then the *merits* of the queſtion as ſtated by you?

You propoſe (*a*) " to view the queſtion in the abſtract," and you begin by aſſuming, " that two independent ſtates, finding their ſeparate exiſtence mutually inconvenient, propoſe to form themſelves into one ſtate, for their mutual benefit."—Is there in this aſſertion any thing to be found in the moſt remote degree applicable to Ireland? When did Ireland *feel her ſeparate exiſtence inconvenient?* And when did ſhe *propoſe to form*, &c. &c. ? There

(*a*) Page 2.

never

never has been any given topic of a political nature ſo abhorrent from the feelings and opinions of the people and parliament of Ireland, as a Union with England. It has often been mentioned as a project deſirable to England, or rather to the miniſter of England; but there never was found in the Iriſh parliament, or the whole Iriſh nation, a man who could be brought to ſay, that he believed a Union would be beneficial to Ireland. Nay, when Ireland had a great and valuable object to gain from England—*no leſs than a free conſtitution*, and *an unſhackled commerce*—no Iriſhman ever conceived that *thoſe benefits*, great as they were, *ought to be purchaſed at ſo high, ſo extravagant a price.* And even now, when it has become, I truſt without foundation, the boaſt of the Engliſh miniſter, or his partizans, that he has ſecured the concurrence of our two houſes of parliament, it appears he has only been able to debauch them in their parliamentary capacity, for he cannot find a ſingle Iriſhman, that will give him more than his vote. When he wants an advocate to come forward in print, he is obliged to have recourſe to an Engliſhman.

As an encouragement to Ireland to unite with England, and to ſubject herſelf to the controul of the Britiſh nation, you call our attention to the "(*b*) *cruel oppreſſion* exerciſed by the Spaniſh government over the provinces of Holland," and indeed you might have carried the example to every in-

(*b*) Page 3.

ſtance where a *weaker nation* was *ſubject to the power* of *a ſtronger*; you might have ſwelled your pamphlet with inſtances of the tyranny of Rome over her provinces—of that very Spain over Portugal—of Genoa over Corſica—of England over her colonies, and even over Ireland, while ſhe had the power to inflict it. But, for the happineſs of the world, the Roman Empire has forages been diſſolved—the provinces of Lower Germany ſoon threw off the yoke of Spain—Portugal has become independent of its proud and domineering neighbour—America is free—and Ireland is no longer a ſlave.—Corſica, it is true, enjoys but the melancholy ſatisfaction of beholding her contemptible deſpot bound with her in one common chain.

Do you ſeriouſly expect that the bold and deſperate atchievement which led to the ſubverſion of the Sabines, and (*c*) "laid the foundation of Roman greatneſs," or the ſucceſsful ambition of "that prince, who added to his hereditary Canton the territories of thoſe Toparhs, whom his *policy could circumvent*, or *his arms ſubdue*," can furniſh arguments to Ireland to forego her pride, her independence, and her national intereſts?—Is the *courage of Rome*, and the *enterprize of Edgar*, to teach *meanneſs* and *ſervile apathy* to Ireland? or do you wiſh to remind us of the miſerable, plundered, and abject ſituation of the Sabines, "*when they found they could no longer maintain themſelves againſt the Ro-*

(*c*) *Ibidem.*

mans,"

mans?" and do you dare thus to imply, that *we have no alternative but voluntary ſubmiſſion, or rapacious conqueſt?*—I truſt you are doubly miſtaken, and that if the latter be attempted, we *ſhall be able for ever to maintain ourſelves*—But ſurely ſo baſe an attempt is not in contemplation.

How profound is your concluſion, that the extinction of the Sabines, (a name extant in hiſtory, only as neceſſary to record the triumph of Rome) and the reduction of all England by the king of the Eaſt Angles can *(d)* "form a complete anſwer to all topics of national dignity and national pride"!! —Be not ſolicitous, oh, Ireland, for *your national dignity* or *your national pride*—ſubmit them to the will of the Engliſh Miniſter—take the advice of the agent for England; the *Princes* of the Heptarchy were reduced to the rank of *galley ſlaves*, and *exchanged the ſceptre for the oar*; the *Sabines* (whoſe numbers perhaps would have peopled a ſingle ſtreet of your metropolis) three thouſand years ago, *ſubmitted to the Romans*, from whom they had received the deepeſt injury that man can offer man, *after they could no longer maintain themſelves* againſt thoſe violators of every law, divine and human.—Of thoſe prudent homagers nothing remains but the memory of their diſgrace and their defeat, while the little infant rapine of the conquerors is overlooked in the ſtupendous contemplation of their more mature and wide-ſpread domination.

(*d*) *Ibidem.*

You

You hint *(e)* " that you might extend your reaſoning, as you call it, to Wales and Scotland." Perhaps you wiſh to remind us of the *fortunate pretext* that introduced an Engliſh army into Wales, and the *honourable uſe* that was made of it—But I deſpiſe the impotent and inſidious threat, and I rely upon the humanity and integrity of our virtuous Sovereign.—Of the Union with Scotland, I ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

After comparing your project to a *(f)* " partnerſhip in trade," and affecting to ſuppoſe that in that partnerſhip Ireland may have a chance of a fair " proportion, &c. &c." you proceed to apply your abſtract argument to the caſe before you. And here I am led to aſk this queſtion *in limine*—Is Ireland not only to be ſubject to the nod and fiat of England, as a nation, but has every individual Engliſhman, let his general pretenſions be never ſo humble, a right merely as an Engliſhman, to inſult, vilify, and calumniate our People? You have my free conſent to extol *(g)* " your civilization, your agriculture, your commerce, your manufactures, your morals, your manners, your eſtabliſhments, and your conſtitution," as much as the low ſyſtem of prejudice and national preſumption, which you have adopted, may require; but in *courting* Ireland to a cloſer connection with England, (if, indeed, you mean to *court*, and not to *dragoon*) do you hope to conciliate us, by telling us that we are a *ſavage*,

(*e*) Page 4. (*f*) Page 5. (*g*) Page 6.

immoral,

immoral, irrational, ill-mannered race, with almoſt every other degrading and contemptuous inſinuation—I well know, ſuch are the ſentiments which the *low and vulgar* of your country entertain of the people of Ireland, but in a long intercourſe with that country, I declare I never had the misfortune of meeting a *ſingle gentleman* ſo *weak* and *illiberal* as to avow thoſe prejudices; but I will ſpeak to the fact—I will admit that the cruel and rapacious tyranny of the Engliſh parliament, while it exerciſed over Ireland a deſpotiſm as fatal as that to which you would again enthrall us, did, by ſelfiſh and unjuſt reſtraints, impede our commerce, and cripple the manufactures of this country; and did *beguile us with a Counterfeit* reſembling the Britiſh Conſtitution; —by which the progreſs of civilization, agriculture, eſtabliſhments, were interrupted amongſt us, and our morals and manners in a conſiderable degree affected, as our national proſperity was depreſſed and humbled; but, thank Heaven, the picture is now reverſed, and you yourſelf, in the progreſs of your work, confeſs enough to prove that this boaſted ſuperiority of England in thoſe particulars, is in a great meaſure but the phantom of national arrogance.—With the *(h)* "beſt agriculture" in the world, you ſtate, *(i)* "that England does not produce corn ſufficient for her own conſumption," and with *(k)* "an agriculture by no means perfect" you admit "that Ireland can afford a ſupply of that article to Great Britain," and think that

(*h*) Page 7. (*i*) Page 38. (*k*) Page 7.

trade

trade of ſuch magnitude and benefit to Ireland, that "to ſecure the preference in the Britiſh market" is one of the *douceurs* you offer as the price of a Union. Exalted as England is, and humble as you repreſent Ireland in commerce, you confeſs (*l*) "Cork to be already the emporium of proviſion for the Britiſh navy," you extol almoſt beyond the limits of belief the (*m*) "export of linens from the North of Ireland"—again you admit in a general way, (*n*) "that the commerce of Ireland has encreaſed;" nay, you go the length of ſaying, (*o*) "that in the laſt twenty years no country in the world ever made ſuch rapid advances as Ireland has done, in population, in agriculture, in manufactures, in wealth, and proſperity."—True, indeed, you couple to theſe admiſſions, ſo contradictory of your general argument, a boaſtful diſplay of the bounty of England, in having ſuffered us to acquire and enjoy ſuch advantages, and you kindly ſuggeſt the riſk we run of being robbed of them (*p*) "by the power of England, by the bravery and good order of the Britiſh army, and by her naval greatneſs." In ſhort, the *degrading ſentiments* you profeſs to feel towards Ireland, and the *complete ſubjection* to which England may reduce her in caſe of non-compliance, ſeems throughout to be the whole foundation of your argument.—Is not the following the true ſubſtance of your addreſs?—Mean, beggarly, vicious, and contemptible nation, come forward to this treaty with your elevated, wealthy, auguſt, and

(*l*) Page 41. (*m*) Page 42. (*n*) Page 51. (*o*) Page 52. (*p*) *Paſſim.*

powerful

powerful neighbour. Rely upon it, you ſhall enjoy equal advantage in the arrangement of the terms, for *ſhe knows your worthleſſneſs* and *her own merit*; and feels for you preciſely as I, an Engliſhman, have profeſſed to do; and this ſentiment coupled with the *great power of England*, her *brave and orderly ſoldiery*, and *her naval greatneſs*, which are now able to rob you of all your preſent advantages, will inſure you not only *fair* and *equal terms* in the treaty, but a *liberal* and *honorable conſtruction* of it at all future times. In fact, you are ſo much in the power of Great Britain already, that you ought more effectually to ſeal your dependence and degradation; and you may ſafely rely on the proportion of ſtrength which I propoſe to you (*q*), ("the proportion of one to five") as a complete protection in all caſes where new or unforeſeen diſcordances of intereſt may ariſe, or where diſputed applications of the principles of confederation may occur.

(*r*) The example of that rapacity with which France has aggrandized her power, is made another argument in favour of an Union. If France by her tyrannical uſurpation of the territory of "Geneva, of Savoy, of Flanders, of the German ſtates, &c. &c." while ſhe has debaſed, enſlaved, and cruelly oppreſſed thoſe nations, *has added to her own happineſs* and *her own power*; go in the name of rapine, and preach up to *other powerful countries* that may be ready to ſacrifice their moral to their political feel-

(*q*) Page 46. (*r*) Page 8.

ings,

ings, go preach to them the example of France. If England is willing, either by fraud or violence, to poſſeſs, in effect, the fruits of that ſuperiority over Ireland, the theory of which you contemplate with ſo much complacency and pride, let the example of France become her inducement; and, if it can, let it form her juſtification; but while Spain and Holland and Lombardy are degraded, while Switzerland bleeds, and while the nations of the Rhine lie bound beneath the ſword of France, do not hope to excite in us a deſire *to rank in the ſame line and predicament* with thoſe, *miſerable nations.*

Whether it be with a view farther to reconcile Ireland to her preſent *ſecondary* ſituation, or to induce her to change that ſecondary ſtate to one of *actual and complete ſubjection*, your argument to prove the *inevitable inconvenience* of *even the preſent connection*, appears to my humble capacity the moſt abſurd that ever iſſued from the pen of a maniac; and, at the preſent moment, the moſt dangerous and inflammatory (*s*). "The kingdom where the monarch does not reſide, you ſay, not having the origination of all councils and meaſures, and having much of its rents carried away by abſentees, would be in a perpetual ſtate of jealouſy and diſcontent." Thus you ſay to Ireland,—inaſmuch as you are diſſatisfied at the abſence of *one* branch of your legiſlature, the only remedy I can ſuggeſt, is to ſend away the other *two*. As you regret that you have not the

(*s*) Page 10.

origi-

originating of *all* meaſures and councils, you will of courſe be fully reconciled to that inconvenience, by enjoying the origination of *none*. And whereas you are already impoveriſhed by the rents of the kingdom being carried away by abſentees, the method to correct the evil, and to *diminiſh* the amount of the rents ſo carried away, is to *increaſe* the numbers of thoſe very abſentees.—Are the Iriſh a nation of idiots!!

You ſuppoſe the people to whom you addreſs yourſelf, no doubt, to be as ignorant of ordinary hiſtorical facts, as deficient in every moral and intellectual faculty; for you aſſert (*t*), "that the Scotch having become entitled to the privileges of Britiſh ſubjects, *have enjoyed internal tranquillity*, &c." Is this intended as a barefaced miſrepreſentation, or are we ſeriouſly to underſtand that *two rebellions* ſet on foot by the firſt men in Scotland, who had for their object the *overthrow of the Britiſh conſtitution*, the *diſunion of the legiſlatures*, the *dethronement of the King*, and *the ſubſtitution of a Pretender*, (and which actually went well nigh to accompliſh their objects) are not of equal importance, as national events, with the late *convulſion of two months continuance* in this country, in which, with very few exceptions indeed, *none* but *the loweſt and moſt ignorant of the mob* were engaged, and which was *completely ſuppreſſed by the loyal yeomanry of Ireland*, before the arrival of the Engliſh reinforcements?

(*t*) Page 11.

You affirm, "that Ireland ſtands in the ſame ſituation that Scotland did previous to the Union," qualifying however the aſſertion with *one exception*; but unluckily this one exception appears, from your own ſhewing, to comprehend *the whole of the caſe*. You ſtate, "that the alternative of a Union or a ſeparation between Scotland and England became inevitable, *becauſe the Scots parliament was taking meaſures to ſeparate the two crowns.*" "Ireland, you ſay, is in the *ſame ſituation* as Scotland was in, except that *the only* fact which rendered a Union with Scotland neceſſary, namely, *the danger of the two crowns being ſeparated*, does *not* exiſt as to Ireland," becauſe, as you fully and truly ſtate it, "the crown of Ireland is by the expreſs ſtatutes *perpetually annexed to* and dependant upon the crown of England, ſo that whoever is King of England is in right of that title, and ipſo facto, King of Ireland."—What a cloſe and critical analogy!!!

How ſolicitous do you appear for the tranquillity of Ireland, but how effectually (on your own principles) do you ſow the ſeeds of eternal diſcord! (*u*) "With a parliament in its inſtitution independent," you repreſent (on what you have (*w*) before ſtated to be, *inevitable* grounds of diſcontent) many great jealouſies to exiſt in the minds of the Iriſh nation; and that the imputed ſubſervience of the legiſlature of Ireland to the councils of Great Britain, will have in future (as you ſay it has already had)

(*u*) Page 12. (*w*) Page 10.

a pre-

a prejudicial influence on the public mind, leading the people to diſtruſt and to diſparage their legiſlature." So that becauſe a legiſlature, *in its inſtitution independent*, cannot avoid ſometimes occaſioning (no matter whether from real or imputed ſubſervience to Britain) diſſatisfaction to the people, you ſuppoſe that very people, ſo jealous of Britiſh influence over an independent parliament, will be perfectly ſatisfied, when the *will of Great Britain* ſhall become avowedly and inevitably (as according to your proportion of five Britiſh to one Iriſh member, it neceſſarily muſt be) the *law of Ireland*. I ſpeak not here of the danger there may be that ſome of the *five* Britiſh members, not ſatisfied with out-voting the *one* Iriſh member, may follow your liberal example, and accompany his vote with calumny and inſult, becauſe that is only matter of private and individual concern.

But truly you have diſcovered a notable expedient for rendering the cabals of (*x*) "Britiſh oppoſition inoperative in Ireland,"—by making that very oppoſition a part of the legiſlative of Ireland! as if this nation is to become wholly inſenſible to the parties and factions of Great Britain, the moment ſhe becomes a part of that kingdom; and to loſe her ſenſibilities towards Britiſh concerns, merely by becoming more cloſely and inſeparably connected with Britain! and you hope to remove from the oppoſition in the Britiſh parliament all pretext for interfering in

(*x*) Page 15.

the

the affairs and party cabals of Ireland, by ſubjecting Ireland to that very parliament!!! Admirable reaſoner!!

You attempt to argue from (y) "the overthrow of Poland," from "the ſubjugation of the ſeven United Provinces," and "the preſent ſecurity of America;"—But the weakneſs of Poland, which left it a prey to the rapacity of its neighbours, proceeds from cauſes not known in Ireland. *You* ſtate it to originate in *this*, "that in Poland *every ſenator was a ſovereign.*" Why do you ſo uniformly build on inapplicable examples? Let us ſee whether the United Netherlands and America furniſh more direct analogies.—In neither of thoſe countries, was *one* ſmall and inferior nation called upon to ſubmit her concerns to the management of *another*—ſuperior and powerful;—and to truſt to a *ſmaller number of repreſentatives* for a fair, juſt, and impartial diſpenſation of ſovereign and legiſlative protection: Each was an aſſociation of *equal* and *independent* ſovereignties, agreeing to act in all *joint* concerns by their *joint* will, but retaining all matters of *internal and ſeparate* intereſt, every one under its own *individual controul.* It was from no apparent nor even alledged *imperfections in the form and principles of their connection*, that Holland and her co-eſtates ſuffered by the ſucceſsful invaſion of France, with which a diſpoſition to revolt and to try new fortunes, ſtrongly co-operated;—and certainly the Union of the American States is as

(y) Page 16.

widely

widely different from the Union propoſed to Ireland, as any two political arrangements that were ever found to ſubſiſt in the world. The principal difference as applicable to the preſent queſtion is, that in the *Congreſs of America, each ſtate has its ſingle vote*, let its number of repreſentatives be what it may, and *no one ſtate* (as would be the caſe in the inſtance under diſcuſſion) can *by a plurality of voices bear down the intereſts of one another, or of all the reſt.* In all caſes where they are bound by a majority, it is by a majority of ſtates, and ſuch caſes only relate to concerns purely of an *imperial or external nature*, the *Union* in no inſtance interfering in the *internal and ſeparate œconomy of any individual ſtate.*

That for *imperial and external* purpoſes, there ought to be a ſtrict and *inſeparable Union* between theſe two iſlands, every friend to both will readily admit, but *that Union already exiſts* in the *unity* and *identity of the crown;* the only imperial and external organ known to our conſtitution.

At length you affect (z) "to examine the arguments which reſult from the particular ſituation of Ireland," and firſt, "as to the ſtate of its property."—On this topic I confeſs you are tolerably ſucceſsful;—you adviſe the Proteſtant proprietors deſcended from Britiſh families, to look for further ſecurity for their poſſeſſions in a Union; and, in order to make *further ſecurity neceſſary*, you take

(z) Page 19.

care

care to remind the native Catholics *how they were formerly diſpoſſeſſed*, and to diſcloſe all the real and imaginary defects of title in the preſent poſſeſſors. You then undertake to conſider the ſituation of Ireland (*a*) "as to religion;" and here indeed, I am utterly at a loſs in attempting to keep pace with or follow you through the maze of deſultory and chaotic matter, which you have heaped together on this ſubject—Whether you mean to repreſent that a Union would ſecure to the Eſtabliſhed Religion that monopoly and predominance which it now enjoys, or to ſuggeſt that the Catholic church might reaſonably build thereon a proſpect of emerging from its preſent ſtate of depreſſion; whether you intend to threaten the Proteſtant faith with overthrow in caſe of rejection, or to hold out hopes of eſtabliſhment to the Catholics as the reward of compliance; or in ſhort, whether knowing the religious diviſions of Ireland, to be a ſubject not be over-looked, but which yet could afford no argument in ſupport of your concluſion, you thought the ſafeſt mode was to ſay as *much* as you could upon the topic, taking care that *that much* ſhould be but *little underſtood*—I confeſs I am at a loſs to determine.—In one point however, you are ſufficiently and *dreadfully explicit*—you plainly tell the Catholics (*b*) "that the Proteſtants ſtate that while *they* (the Catholics) *were reſtrained, the kingdom continued in tranquillity for a century*, but that as ſoon as national confidence induced a repeal of thoſe reſtrictions, the Catholics

(*a*) Page 20. (*b*) Page 21.

demanded

demanded ſuch a change in the Conſtitution, as would transfer to them all the power of the State.

Now, Sir, as the *benefit* you promiſe Ireland from a Union is *tranquillity*, and as your general argument in its favour is, that in the preſent ſtate of the country, *the diſcontents and jealouſies* between oppoſite ſects *are inveterate and incurable*, it is not extraordinary to find an Engliſhman who avows ſo much contempt and abhorrence for Ireland, and ſuch enthuſiaſtic love and admiration for England, *endeavouring to encreaſe and foment thoſe jealouſies*, which *he* conceives will lead to the *benefit of his favourite country, at the expence of the other.*—But I will endeavour to extinguiſh this firebrand which you have thrown upon the public mind; I will aſſert, *that the Proteſtants of Ireland never made ſo falſe and ſo ungenerous a charge againſt the Catholics.*—That projects to change the Conſtitution were formed, I do admit, but it is notorious, and none but a *determined incendiary* can deny it, that the Catholics, *as a body*, had no concern in originating theſe plans—Individuals of that as well as other religions were, no doubt, included in the number of the conſpirators; but the conſpiracy was founded on the example of France, where all religions were alike objects of contempt and deriſion; and, in fact, the Catholic members of the revolutionary party *(c) would as ſoon conſent to the Eſtabliſhment of the Mahometan as of the Popiſh Religion.*

(c) See Dr. M'Nevin's Evidence.

The French principle of overthrowing all diſtinctions to gratify plebeian envy, and excite the rapacity of the mob, by the ſpoil and degradation of the gentry; of levelling the throne, and annihilating all judicial and executive power, that property and order might be no longer protected, nor outrage reſtrained, was the grand cementing principle of the conſpiracy in Ireland. Some leaders, no doubt, looked to their own individual aggrandiſement, and prepoſterouſly hoped that a new and uſurped authority would be able to retain in ſubjection that mob, whom they had ſo ſedulouſly inſtructed to believe that authority, law, reſtraint, and ſubordination, were the worſt of injuries; and that rank, office, wealth, and power, were crimes only to be expiated by aſſaſſination. It is equally true, that, under the banners of this conſpiracy, multitudes of Catholics were enrolled, but they came not as Catholics, but as forming the great maſs of the lower orders of the people, whom the leaders affected to make the firſt objects of their benevolence and care.

Among the multitudes of this deſcription, ſome, no doubt, there were, who, uniting the extremes of moral depravity and religious bigotry, appeared to perpetrate all the crimes that attended the progreſs of the rebellion, with a ſtrange deſire of exalting their Church, and propagating their Faith—But is the caſe of thoſe *comparatively few individuals*, to be extended to, and comprehend *the whole body of the Catholics of Ireland?* And becauſe, while the

the kingdom was ſwarming with directories, with ſections, with committees of Catholic, Preſbyterian, and Proteſtant traitors, a few profligate Prieſts, (many of them too, degraded by their Church) contrived in a nook of the kingdom, to kindle the flame of religious fury, are you for this reaſon *to include in one general calumny, the whole Catholic body?* Or are you, *without foundation*, to impute to the Proteſtants of Ireland, the fabrication of the ſlander? Their Proteſtant brethren and fellow-citizens will never forget the perſevering loyalty of the Catholics of Munſter, nearly unſtained by a ſingle exception; nor the peaceful demeanor of Connaught, (almoſt univerſally Catholic) where, though a foreign ſtandard was diſplayed, affecting to eſpouſe their cauſe, a very inſignificant number *voluntarily* joined the invaders.

You ſeem to look forward with ſomething more than common malignity to the proſpects of future Catholic Emancipation, and you endeavour to lay the grounds of unceaſing diſcord, *proviſionally*, in caſe of that event. You take care to inform the Catholics, that their total emancipation ought not to be their *ultimatum*, for that a *neceſſary conſequence* of that emancipation would be *(d)* "*that the Proteſtant Church Eſtabliſhment would become a public wrong*"—and you farther moſt dangerouſly and inſidiouſly affirm, that they would have an indiſputable right "to have the frame of the Houſe of Commons reformed, and altered in their favor!!!

(*d*) Page 25.

Good God! how long will you ſuffer this ill-fated land to be the ſport and victim of wickedneſs and folly!

You propoſe (e) "to conſider what would be the natural effects of a favorable legiſlative Union."

1ſt. You ſay "the empire would have but one legiſlative—one organ of the public will, &c. &c." granted,—but *that will* would be *the will of Great Britain enforced*; and, *in every poſſible inſtance, ſecured by the proportion of* FIVE Britiſh to ONE Iriſh member.

2d. "Ireland would be in a *natural* ſituation"—I dare ſay ſhe would; but I admit I do not underſtand you, unleſs you mean to tell the Catholics that the Proteſtant religion is perfectly *natural to a united* kingdom, but *unnatural to one that is ſeparate*; and by that means to reconcile them to a Union, in hopes thereby to naturalize the Proteſtant church.

3d. "The Catholics would loſe the advantage of the argument of numbers, &c. &c." The whole of your work proves this to be a groſs fallacy. You firſt tell the Proteſtants that they have no right to the church eſtabliſhment, being inferior in number to the Catholics; and yet you ſay they may acquire a complete right by their own act, an act which they are at leaſt as little competent to, as they are to diſ-

(e) Page 26.

poſe

poſe of the church eſtabliſhment, namely—*to diſpoſe of the whole kingdom.*

4th. You ſtate, " that in the preſent ſituation of the two countries, Great Britain has no intereſt in ſupporting one ſect in Ireland more than another;" and *(f)* " that you do not know by what tie ſhe is debarred from aſſiſting the Catholics." Indeed, Sir, I know of no ſuch tie neither; for, *as yet*, thank God, *Great Britain has no more duties to perform in Ireland than the people of Jerſey;* but if Great Britain were to take up the whim *of propagating the Popiſh religion in Ireland*, I preſume his Majeſty is not ſo unmindful of the *duties he owes* to his Proteſtant ſubjects here, or of the obligations *of his coronation oath*, as not to interfere, and *put a ſtop to the croiſade.*

You mention an objection that has been ſtated to your project, namely, " that it would increaſe abſentee proprietors; and that as moſt abſentees are Proteſtants, Proteſtant influence would decreaſe."

Before I obſerve upon the notice which you have thought proper to take of this objection, give me leave to congratulate you on the *practical proficiency* you have made *in the modern philoſophy*; where a ſubject of mixed concern, partly religious, and

(*f*) Page 27.

partly

partly political, comes before you, no French reformer ever ſhewed a more liberal contempt for every thing affecting religion. Of this I have ſhewn one inſtance already; another occurs here;—without thinking that part of the objection, that applies to religion, at all intitled to an anſwer, you proceed to that alone which has a political object; and here you do not attempt to diſpute the fact, but barely content yourſelf with ſaying, "that it does not appear that the abſentees from Scotland increaſed after the Union." However, notwithſtanding this notorious miſrepreſentation, you are on the whole moſt enough on this ſubject, for even in a political view you ſeem inclined to give up the queſtion; and indeed in many places you admit in terms (g) "that abſentee proprietors would increaſe." But then you obſerve, that the ſolid advantages of a Union (and how well you have been able to point out thoſe advantages, I leave every reader to determine) would compenſate for the increaſe of abſentees. If the *evils of a Union are certain and inevitable*, and *the good no further probable than you have been able to repreſent it*, I truſt we ſhall have the courage and the prudence to endure whatever may be inconvenient in our preſent ſituation, for ſome time longer, and endeavour to apply lenient and gradual remedies, inſtead of *running to every quack that offers his noſtrum;* and that we ſhall never ſtoop to the miſerable reſource of cowards, *voluntary ſuicide*, and *ſelf-deſtruction.*

(g) Page 15.

You

You proceed to ſhew (*b*) " that a Union may be ſo ſhaped as to be favourable to the Proteſtants, without being unfavourable to the Catholics ;"—as thus—

Firſt. " Free toleration will be ſecured to their religion (meaning the religion of the Catholics) their power of electing repreſentatives will be perpetuated, &c. &c." Have you no argument to convince *one deſcription of the people* of Ireland, that muſt not excite their animoſities or ſuſpicion *againſt ſome other ?* But I truſt the Catholics will give no credit to the inſinuation here ſo broadly implied, that the toleration and elective power and civil capacities they now enjoy, *are not already effectually and irrevocably enſured to them.*

Secondly. You tell us " that it may be neceſſary to connect with a Union a proper ſupport for their clergy, and ſome regulation for their church, &c. &c." Why do you not offer ſome reaſon to ſhew that a proviſion for the Catholic clergy will be more neceſſary *after* a Union, than it *is at preſent ?* I ſuſpect you mean nothing more nor leſs than to promiſe the Catholics a bribe—and I aſſure all thoſe that feel inclined to believe you, that you have no idea of keeping your word with them.

Thirdly. " Proteſtant and Catholic intereſt in county elections, and pariſh jealouſies will ceaſe, &c.

(*b*) Page 29.

&c."

&c." I wiſh you had given us any good reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the election of a member to ſerve in Britain will not be as warmly diſputed as that of a member to our own preſent parliament.

Fourthly. " If the Proteſtant intereſt be ſecure, there will be an end of ſtate partiality towards Proteſtants." This is an admirable way of *ſecuring intereſt*, namely, by a *deprivation of ſtate partiality*.

Fifthly. " Catholics will feel more confident under a legiſlature, where the majority of members will not be influenced againſt them by local prejudices and antipathies." I entreat my Catholic countrymen to cultivate in their minds a principle of conciliation, forgiveneſs, and amity towards their Proteſtant neighbours, and to *ſuſpect the views of every man to be diſhoneſt*, who attempts to perſuade them that the Proteſtant members of the Iriſh parliament *are influenced againſt them by local prejudices and antipathies*.

Sixthly. (*i*) " Sectarian ſtruggle will terminate ! ! !" Let us look a few lines further !

Seventhly. " An opening may be left in any plan of Union for the future admiſſion of Catholics to additional privileges, and Proteſtants can never object to ſuch an opening, as they may reſt aſſured,

(*i*) Page 30.

that

that the Britiſh Proteſtant parliament will not imprudently admit Catholic pretenſions, as the teſt-laws could not be partially repealed—and it is evident, that the Catholics could not force their claims with hoſtility againſt the whole power of Great Britain and Ireland!!!"—I have read your own words ſeveral times over, and find, with increaſing aſtoniſhment, at every peruſal, that they are literally as I have ſtated them. I believe to *leave an opening* to a ſect *for future admiſſion*, but at the ſame time to *block up* that opening with *unrepealable teſt-laws*, and with *maſſes of power*, is in politics an exact parallel to that grand mechanical *deſideratum*, a perpetual motion—and is preciſely the way not only *to ſet* SECTARIAN STRUGGLE *at work, but to provide for its unceaſing continuance*; and ſo far, I am alſo bound to believe, that the author of thoſe two propoſitions is either blind to the moſt obvious deductions from principles and facts himſelf, or that he feels as if he addreſſed a nation of drivellers, and treats them accordingly. But I cannot diſmiſs this part of the ſubject without ſome comment on the *unprincipled deceit* which appears here, united with ſo much *intellectual weakneſs*. It will be no excuſe to ſay, that the obvious and glaring folly prevents the miſchief, by betraying, at the firſt bluſh, the baſe and uncandid impoſition intended to be practiſed—neither is it worth enquiring which ſect you intend to deceive and miſlead—but I affirm, that in the beginning of the laſt quoted paragraph, you propoſe to *give hopes and expectations to the Catholics*,

which in the remainder of it you aſſure the Proteſtants *ſhall never be realiſed.*

Eighthly. "The Catholics are more numerous in the South and Weſt of Ireland; and it is conceived, that thoſe parts of the kingdom would be moſt benefited by an Union, as to agriculture and commercial advantages." No miſerable ſophiſt ever advanced a more palpable *petitio principii* than this; but you have refuted your own aſſertion, for you endeavour to ſhew, a few pages further on, "*that in point of agriculture and the commerce depending upon it, the parts adjacent to Dublin will be moſt benefited*; you there ſtate, "(*k*) that Dublin will probably *monopolize the corn trade* between Great Britain and Ireland; that its *commerce for all Engliſh goods with Liverpool will greatly encreaſe*, and *that in proportion as canals from Dublin are carried to different parts of the kingdom*, (and by the bye Connaught is the moſt direct and immediate object of thoſe canals) *it will be the* DEPÔT *for their conſumption in all articles of Britiſh manufactures and imports*;" ſo that without *any* ſhare of the corn trade with England, and receiving *all articles of Britiſh manufactures and imports through Dublin*, ſtill Munſter and Connaught are to be *more benefited in agriculture and commerce* than any other parts of Ireland.

Ninthly. You ſtill follow your favourite ſyſtem, and aſſuming, without proof or argument, that a

(*k*) Page 39.

Union

Union will inſure the Catholics many political, and all civil advantages, you diſmiſs them with a ſhort advice, to " *(m)* become ſatisfied with their ſituation."—I moſt heartily join in the ſame advice; with this difference, that the ſentiment which you *recommend to them to feel in the event of a Union*, I do moſt earneſtly exhort them *to cultivate in the preſent ſituation of the country.*

You have ſhewn as little knowledge of common arithmetic as of political reaſoning or hiſtory. Having repeatedly mentioned the Proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church, as *one-fourth* part of the population of Ireland, you afterwards ſtate the Diſſenters as a ratio of about *one-ſeventh* to the whole kingdom, and of *one-ſixth* to the Catholics. For God's ſake, in this laſt calculation, where have you left room for the one-fourth which you allow the Proteſtants?—Perhaps the ſolution may be found in the ſcience of algebra or logarithms—it certainly does not belong to *common arithmetic*; but it would be to no purpoſe to diſcover your meaning; the calculation ſeems to have been introduced merely to enliven the ſubject with a *numerical conundrum*, for you draw from it no concluſion; *your aſſertion, that their importance would riſe in the empire in conſequence of a Union, would be equally unfounded, whether their comparative members were great or ſmall.*

You appear to have introduced this ſect, merely to afford you an opportunity " *(n) of charging them with views and conduct hoſtile to the eſtabliſh-*

(m) Page 31. *(n)* Page 32.

 ment."

ment." Thus, following up your plan of embroiling all denominations of Iriſhmen in irreconcilable enmities, as a means of *driving them* not *from motives of reaſon* and *ſound policy*, but with a view to *their ſeparate intereſts* and the *depreſſion of other ſects*, into your favourite meaſure; but give me leave to aſſure my countrymen, that if England ſhall find herſelf ſucceſsful in procuring an object, (which appears to be ſo dear to her) at the expence of the mutual concord of the different ſects in Ireland, ſhe will always find it her intereſt to keep alive thoſe rancours, with a view to perpetuate her enjoyment of that object; well knowing that empire is only to be preſerved by thoſe means by which it has been acquired—and that if ſhe ſhall atchieve a Union by the diſcords of Iriſhmen, ſhe ſhould inevitably ſuffer a ſeparation as ſoon as Iriſhmen ſhould be reconciled.

You promiſe the Catholics and Preſbyterians, (*o*) "that if they will conſent to a Union, a modus for tithes will accompany the meaſure, and that both ſects ſhall be eſſentially relieved and benefited by that part of a new ſyſtem." As you intend to *relieve* the Catholics and Diſſenters *from the payment of tithes*, I am ſorry you have pledged yourſelf to the ſpiritual peers, that they ſhall have (*p*) "ſecurity for their dioceſan eſtates," becauſe I think if the *working clergy* are to be ſtript of their proviſion, there is no fund out of which ſome *little*

(*o*) Page 32. (*p*) Page 33.

pittance

pittance might be ſo equitably afforded them as the eſtates of the biſhops; and particularly as thoſe perſons, being no longer lords of parliament, will not require ſo large an income to ſupport their dignity.—By the bye, after having propoſed to give away the tithes, I wiſh you had explained what you mean by the words "ſecurity to the general intereſt and eſtabliſhment of the church" in the very next page.—You have a ſtrange notion of Preſbyterian obſtinacy; (*q*) "when the *ſtumbling block of tithes is removed*, they may probably fall in with the Proteſtant church," by which I ſuppoſe you mean that as ſoon as he ceaſes to *pay* for the prayers of the Eſtabliſhed Church, *a Preſbyterian will ſee their value.*

I give no anſwer to your (*r*) paragraph reſpecting the peers; *firſt*, becauſe it amounts only to a begging of a queſtion throughout—contains nothing applicable to the ſubject,—and appears to be only introduced in compliment to the dignity of the perſons to whom it relates,—and, with a view to make a parade of taking up the whole ſubject in due order—But *ſeccondly* and *principally*, becauſe I rather ſuppoſe that the *real argument*, by which you *hope to perſuade* theſe exalted perſonages, is to be found in a different part of your work, namely, under the head of "*private intereſts to be managed and compenſated.*"

You ſay, "The ſame reaſoning (I confeſs I ſee nothing like reaſoning) will apply

(*q*) Page 32. (*r*) Page 33.

to

to the Houſe of Commons, and you aſk can it be doubted "that a reaſonable repreſentation may be ſelected."—Whether a reaſonable repreſentation may be ſelected or not, it ſeems is not the queſtion, for you have already fixed the proportion at five Britiſh to one Iriſh member, and therefore, the queſtion you have given us to conſider is whether *five* to *one*, be not a reaſonable proportion.—For my part, in a caſe where the intereſts or feelings of England and Ireland may appear to croſs each other, I would as readily conſent to have *no* member for Ireland as *one* againſt *five*; and to know the *worſt* that could befall us in that caſe, we have only to *look as far back as before the year* 1780, when the *Britiſh parliament conceived it to be neceſſary for the benefit of the empire*, to ſhut up the harbours of Ireland by the Navigation and other Acts, and generally to reſtrict, or (as they called it) to regulate the trade of this country.

To your obſervations reſpecting the Bar, I ſhall perhaps ſay leſs than the importance of that body, and the figure they make in your work, would appear to intitle them to. Much of what you have ſaid ſtands refuted in the face of the public by well known and undiſputed facts. To ſome of your opinions, I in a great degree ſubſcribe my aſſent. Certainly with the views you entertain, and the knowledge you muſt have acquired of the ſtate of Ireland, by your long reſidence among us, there was ſome addreſs and cunning in your attempt to deprive the Bar of Ireland, of that confidence

confidence which the nation has hitherto placed in them as a body;—their honour and integrity as individuals, their learning and abilities as a profeſſion, their repeated and meritorious exertions in behalf of their country, have impreſſed upon the public mind a ſerious reliance on their opinion, in all matters of high and momentous concern. To no ſet of men was the nation more indebted for the benefits attending the volunteer aſſociations, and they may be called the very ſpring and life of the yeomanry inſtitutions. You know their wiſdom too well *not to anticipate what would be their teſtimony*, and it was deſirable, if poſſible, *to undermine their credit.*

I admit that ſome men of no pretenſions, ſave from their fortunes and connections, do, without learning or capacity, obtrude themſelves into that profeſſion; hoping, by borough intereſt and family intrigue, to raiſe themſelves to honours which they do not deſerve; that others, vainly arrogating to themſelves the character of politicians and orators, avail themſelves of the forms of our repreſentation to acquire ſeats in Parliament, with a view to force themſelves into office—But beſides, that the caſe is preciſely ſimilar in England, the nation ſuffers no injury from that circumſtance—In the ſubordinate offices of the Bar, and ſometimes in other departments of the State, thoſe gentlemen may "earn a humiliating reward;" but a ſingle inſtance has not occurred ſince Ireland acquired her independence, of a lawyer being promoted to the Bench merely

merely by parliamentary intereſt, or from an empty talent for political declamation.—Before that fortunate and glorious æra, indeed, political cabal was the *only road* by which the judgment ſeat was acceſſible, (and, no doubt, the caſe will be as formerly if we return to our old ſituation)—But at this moment, there is not a ſingle Judge upon the Bench, who did not acquire his ſituation by well and long tried ability at the Bar; and when you tell the people of Ireland, that *after the Union they ſhall have able Judges*, I ſuppoſe you mean that they ſhall be favoured *with Judges from England*, who, as Engliſhmen, no doubt, muſt be ſuperior to every thing Iriſh; for *abler men*, in every true ſenſe of the word, *than we now have in thoſe ſituations*, or men who more ſedulouſly attended to the duties of their profeſſion while at the Bar, I am ſure do not exiſt in the profeſſion either here or in England—To their integrity, the unanimous voice of their country bears witneſs—and you yourſelf hardly ſeem to diſpute it.

The Bar, you ſay, (*s*) "*may be injured* (though not materially) by the arrangement"—and from thence, you take occaſion to anticipate a few words of praiſe in favour of that diſintereſted virtue that is to induce the placemen and expectants of the Bar to vote for this meaſure in the Houſe of Commons, and to ſupport it abroad; but for my part, Sir, I ſhall more readily rely upon the (*t*) "virtuous ardency of youth" than on the wiſdom of age and experience, when *that age* has been ſpent, and *that experience* acquired, in the midſt of (*u*) "*political*

(*s*) Page 36. (*t*) Ibidem. (*u*) Ibidem.

temptations"

temptations" in aſcertaining the *modes* and the *proportions* in which " private intereſts may be *managed and compenſated*" *for public wrong*—and how far *the general evils of a country may conduce to the individual benefit of their authors.*

I cannot conceive a more accurate barometer to aſcertain the ſtate of the political atmoſphere, than the profeſſion of the law; their proſperity muſt be in proportion to the proſperity of the public, and their fortune muſt riſe and fall with the wealth of the nation—converſant as they are in the arrangement, ſecurity, and defence of the property of individuals, and above all, of that property which ariſes from commerce, manufactures, and agriculture, the *extent* of that property *muſt fix the limits* of forenſic emolument.—If, then, the Bar be, as you inſinuate, compoſed of *ſelfiſh perſons*, ſtudiouſly *regarding* only *their own intereſt*; if they are at *leaſt as wiſe as the ordinary claſſes of mankind*, (which I conceive will not be denied) if it be as you ſay, even *too much their habit to cultivate political enquiry*; and if the *advantages of the profeſſion be commenſurate to the national welfare*—can a ſtronger argument be offered to a public meaſure, than their voice and opinion againſt it?

(*x*) " To demonſtrate (I ſuppoſe you mean to endeavour to demonſtrate) to the Clergy the advantages of a Union, would be loſt labour indeed."—

(*x*) Page 37.

I entirely agree with you—the kind and affectionate intercourſe they might hope to enjoy with their Catholic and Preſbyterian neighbours, after thoſe ſects ſhould be *relieved* by the part of your new ſyſtem relating to tithes, which I have already mentioned, could not fail to operate as a full compenſation to them for any *worldly loſs* they might ſuſtain by the arrangement.

I admire the caution you ſuggeſt to the gentlemen of landed property, to diſregard the opinions and arguments of "enterpriſing adventurers."—Pray, Sir, are *you* totally devoid of political enterpriſe? Is your fortune, whatever it may be, the *gift* of your anceſtors, or the *fruit* ofyour own toil in *trade*, or *in a profeſſion?* Have you never *adventured in the field of politics?* Did you never engage in the *conteſts and ſtruggles of party?* And ſince this character of an enterpriſing, politician, and party adventurer, be ſo contemptible and dangerous, for heaven's ſake inform us *how* and *where* you have looked for the "harveſt of your hopes." You tell the country gentlemen, "that *if* a Union would *put an end to diſcords and inſurrections*, it would benefit their eſtates, &c. &c."; but *if* by *threats* of impending force and irreſiſtible power—by *fallacious argument*—by *groſs miſrepreſentations*—by exciting and fomenting *party feuds* and *religious acrimony*—by holding out *contradictory and incompatible hopes and expectations* to all deſcriptions of perſons—by ſeizing the moment *of public calamity* and of *univerſal terror*—and finally, by *managing* and *compenſating private intereſts*, you

you are able to accompliſh a meaſure which every *unbought Iriſhman* will *feel it his intereſt to recall and do away*—and if this laſt can only be done *by a more dreadful and unanimous inſurrection than ever occurred here before*, what becomes of your propoſition in favor of the landed gentlemen, and the increaſed value of their eſtates? I confeſs there is as yet only *my* hypotheſis againſt *yours*; but, when we look over the world to every parallel inſtance that can be found in hiſtory; when we contemplate the preſent diſcontents in Norway, only ſuppreſſed by the powerful army of Denmark, and the inſignificance of the country which has prevented it from becoming an object of interference with other nations—the revolt of Sweden from the ſame power—of the Netherlands and Portugal from Spain—of Corſica from Genoa—of Brabant and Flanders, lately from the Emperor—of America, from the King of Great Britain—of Ireland, from England as a nation—and, in ſhort, to every caſe in which an *unnatural* and *inequitable* Union of the *powerful* with the *weak*, has been formed, without check or protecting principle, —where, "ſtate partially," was uniformly and of neceſſity in favor of the former; and when political injury was on all occaſions accompanied with perſonal indignity and inſult to the latter;—when we ſee the avidity with which *one* ſtate has always embraced every opportunity of diſmembering *another*—how England aſſiſted the Low Countries, and France the American provinces—when all this is conſidered, and the oppoſite ſuppoſitions which you and I have hazarded, come to be examined by this

touchſtone of experience and common ſenſe—whatever may be the public opinion of *your* enterpriſe and adventure—however *your* boldneſs in political conteſts and party ſtruggles may be admitted, to *me* at leaſt will belong the humble merit of *a faithful chronicler of paſt tranſactions*, and I hope *of no unprofitable forewarner of events to come.*

You affirm *(y)* "that a Union will place the Iriſh merchant upon an equality with the Britiſh, and he will be certain to enjoy for ever, &c. &c." Pray, Sir, was it with a view to the *general benefit* of the empire or to *the ſeparate intereſts of Great Britain*, that till within thoſe eighteen years paſt the Britiſh parliament *reſtrained and ruined the commerce of Ireland?* If the true object were the intereſt of Britain, and the pretext only the benefit of the empire, will not the *ſame pretext* for ever cover and juſtify the *ſame object*, whenever ſimilar power ſhall exiſt? Or have you given us, *even your own aſſertion*, that England is now *more juſt* and *more diſintereſted* than ſhe was before; and that ſhe will *now* make a *good uſe* of the *ſame power* of which ſhe *made a bad uſe then*? Or, perhaps, you are of opinion that there was *nothing inequitable in the oppreſſion of Ireland*, when the *aggrandiſing of your own country* was to be the conſequence. But if it ever *has* been, or ever *may* be poſſible, that the intereſts of the empire ſhall require a ſacrifice from Ireland, let her retain the power to *judge of the neceſſity* in her own hands, and not leave it to the deciſion of a nation that is to *gain* whatever ſhe is to *loſe*.—At

(y) Page 39.

the

the ſecurity of *one* member to *five*, I could laugh! But that the ſubject compels me to be grave!

In your anſwer to that objection againſt a Union, which ariſes from the conſequent *(z)* ruin of the metropolis, as you refer us to the example of Edinburgh, I take this opportunity of ſhortly applying myſelf to the general argument of analogy between Scotland and Ireland.——That the Union did not ſecure tranquillity to North Britain I have already ſhewn; on the contrary, in the firſt thirty years ſhe was diſturbed by *two* dreadful and wide-ſpread rebellions, of *both* of which *probably*, but *certainly of the firſt*, the Union was one ſtrongly operating cauſe. But we are told again "that Scotland has found the benefit of a Union in increaſed commerce, wealth and population." That her commerce, her wealth, and her population, have increaſed ſince the Union, I will allow; but I will maintain that there *is evidence*, and evidence which thoſe who argue from analogy muſt admit to be *concluſive* and *convincing*, to prove not only that ſhe *did not acquire that increaſe* by means of the Union, but, that on the contrary, *the Union was injurious to her, and prevented* her *greater* and *farther improvement* in every one of thoſe particulars.

In the ſame period of time *Ireland has increaſed* in wealth, population, and commerce, in a *ratio*, (I ſpeak within very ſtrict bounds) of at *leaſt two to one*

(z) Page 39.

more

more than Scotland, although for ſixty years of that period Ireland was *cruelly oppreſſed by the Britiſh parliament*; and, although Scotland during that whole time, enjoyed her proportion, as a part of Great Britain, of Iriſh plunder—and had alſo the advantage of her ſhare in the Eaſt India trade, from which Ireland has been wholly excluded; ſo that *the whole force* of the analogy *is againſt a Union*, tending to ſhew, *not that Ireland will be a gainer*, becauſe Scotland has benefited by it, but that Ireland ought to reject it, *becauſe it has injured Scotland*—ſimilar views of the comparative ſtates of Dublin and Edinburgh at the time of the Union, and at the preſent time would warrant (but in a greater degree) a ſimilar concluſion.

But let us examine the remaining part of your argument in anſwer to this objection. You tell us not to dread the deſertion of the capital, the bankruptcy of its ſhopkeepers, or the ruin of its proprietors; becauſe, "that Dublin muſt ſtill be the reſidence of a viceroy and his court—*that ſciences, arts, and amuſements may be cultivated in proportion as there will be leſs attention to politics*; that it will be the ſeat of juſtice, the chief ſeat of revenue, and the head-quarters of the army. It will monopolize the corn trade between Great Britain and Ireland with (I do not know what) advantages from canals, &c. &c." Perhaps no ſubject of equal conſequence was ever treated with more *ſang-froid* than you have handled this.—The diſparagement and ruin of eſtates—the dilapidation of whole ſtreets and

and ſquares of almoſt palatial magnificence—the diſappointment of many a well-founded ſpeculation, encouraged by the view of unexampled proſperity around, and a protecting government, and promiſing large and well-merited fortunes to the undertakers—the overthrow of every trade that miniſtered to the calls of taſte, of faſhion, or of wealth—the ruin of the retailer, and the total deſtruction of a hoſt of artizans in almoſt every department of labour and ingenuity; all thoſe heart-rending reflections are to be ſilenced *by a quaint unmeaning illuſory repartee.*—Why, what have you to fear? Surely as you have *now* no concern with politics, *as we have ſent every man connected with the politics of the country to England*, what have you to do but to cultivate the ſciences, arts, and amuſements!!! I wiſh, Sir, when you ſpeak of *private intereſts to be compenſated*, you would think of ſome compenſation for thoſe innocent individuals, who are to be the wanton victims of your barbarous and unfeeling policy;—when thoſe whom numerous and opulent cuſtomers, whom the annual and periodical reſort of temporary reſidents, and whom a uniformly certain and profitable trade have enabled to pay *rents of unexampled magnitude*, ſhall ſee their ſhops and apartments deſerted, and their ſlowly lingering ſtock at length ſeized to ſatisfy their landlord—*have you provided compenſation for them?*

Have you provided compenſation for him who has bound himſelf to pay rents for large tracts of ground

by

by the foot, which he muſt now let *by the acre*, and who has laid out his whole fortune in *buildings that never muſt be finiſhed?* Do you think *no compenſation due to him*, who has devoted his life to the rational gratifications of a ſplendid and generous nobility, to the ornament of a great and proud metropolis, to the eaſe, accommodation, taſte, and comfort of an opulent gentry, and a princely body of merchants; and who, when thoſe *merchants ſhall be reduced*, that *gentry impoveriſhed*, the *metropolis humbled*, and his *noble employers expatriated*, will have no reſource but the charity of his *equally diſtreſſed fellow-citizens?*

The remainder of your anſwer to this objection is equally abſurd and inſulting—"that Dublin ſhall ſtill be the reſidence of the Lord Lieutenant, the ſeat of juſtice, and of the revenue, and the head-quarters of the army." Thus, when Dublin complains that you are going to injure her by carrying away her parliament, with all its members, and their connections, you obſerve, that ſhe can ſuſtain no injury by that, as you will leave her the Caſtle, the Four Courts, the Cuſtom-houſe, and Barracks; as if it was a ſufficient excuſe to the capital for depriving her of *moſt* of her advantages, *that you did not mean to rob her of all.* As to the benefit of the corn trade, and the other advantages you promiſe her from the canals both in England and Ireland, how are thoſe matters connected with a Union? Is the Union neceſſary as a means of procuring to Dublin the corn trade with England? And cannot the canals in England

England and Ireland be brought to perfection without it?—I preſume your whole argument may be brought to this plain ſtatement—your *preſent advantages are ſo many*, and your *future proſpects ſo promiſing*, that you may very well afford to *give up a great ſhare of both*, in order *to indulge the miniſter*, and to *aggrandiſe the kingdom of Great Britain!*

You are pleaſed to affirm, (*a*) "that the adverſaries of a Union admit that it will be beneficial to trade and manufactures." Thoſe courtly diſputants, who differ in opinion in order to compliment a great ſtateſman; by being convinced after a little gentle argument, may poſſibly have made ſome ſuch admiſſion; but I deny that men of common ſenſe can entertain ſuch an opinion, or that any man to whom the welfare of Ireland is dear, ever made the conceſſion.—I would ſtake the whole queſtion on this ſhort iſſue—*If you can point out a ſingle regulation by which the trade and manufactures of Ireland can be benefited, that may not as eaſily and as effectually be adopted in our preſent ſituation as after a Union*, I will withdraw my weak oppoſition—But if England ſhall hold out *tempting baits* of commercial indulgence as *the price of a Union*—though they appear to *promiſe* Ireland the riches of the Indies, *I would reject the bargain*; becauſe *it cannot be*, nor is it conſiſtent with human nature, that any nation would *pay a high price as the purchaſe of power*, without after-

(*a*) Page 41.

wards making that power *an inſtrument to reimburſe and indemnify* herſelf.—Beſides, we all know that Great Britain will in *no* caſe make conceſſions *in favour of Ireland*, and *to her own prejudice*—and if there be any commercial advantage which Great Britain *can extend to Ireland without injury to herſelf*, and has hitherto *withheld it*, or *ſhall continue to withhold* it, till Ireland ſhall *ſubmit* to a Union; ſuch a diſpoſition manifeſted on the part of England, ought *to convince Ireland that ſhe never can be ſafe under the power of that country.*

This laſt obſervation applies to the argument which you addreſs to Cork (*b*)—If Cork be an improper ſituation for a marine ſtation and a dock-yard, it has been wiſe in the Britiſh miniſter to withhold what would be a dangerous indulgence to that city, and the adoption or rejection of a Union can never make any alteration as to the propriety or impropriety of eſtabliſhing a naval arſenal there. But if the "preſent dock-yards of England be inadequate to the extent of the navy, and that a new ſtation be wanted," and if Cork be the beſt ſituation to be found in thoſe dominions for ſuch an eſtabliſhment; it then ought to be immediately ſelected whether a Union ſhall take place or not; and if the miniſter of England attempts making it *a part of a bargain* for a Union, it ought to be a further inducement to this country to *put herſelf on her guard*—becauſe, (not to mention the unfriendly diſ-

(*b*) *Ibid.*

poſition

poſition it would imply towards Ireland) it would evince ſuch a mean, peddling, and jobbing policy as would leave good grounds to ſuſpect the integrity of the whole propoſal;—beſides, if Cork is to have a *ſpecific bribe*, why ought not *ſome indemnity* to be given to *Dublin*, which you admit will be *ſo much more injured*.

As to the mode in which you propoſe to (*c*) "obviate the common and general objections to a Union," it is perfectly conſiſtent with the whole of your plan; for it is a maſs of miſrepreſentation, of unfounded aſſertion, and of deluſive argument; you even miſrepreſent the objections themſelves!—Your play upon the word extinguiſh, in your firſt objection, is puerile and ridiculous; if any man ever complained that *Ireland would be extinguiſhed* by a Union, he meant that her *rank among nations*, her *pride*, her *dignity*, her *independence*, and *her wealth*, would be deſtroyed. In your anſwer to the ſecond objection, you barely recapitulate your former aſſertions, mingled with a little of the geography of other countries, to ſhew that Dublin is not more remote from London than other towns from the capitals on which they depend—as if it was not the loſs of her parliament, that Ireland would have to lament, but the fatigue the members might endure from the journey.—The third objection you ſtate to be, "ſhall we tamely reſign that legiſlation whoſe independence was ſo glo-

(*c*) Page 42.

riouſly aſſerted and eſtabliſhed by the arms of the volunteers," and then, as if it was only by way of compliment to the volunteers that Ireland was to wiſh for a continuance of her liberty, you proceed to argue, that *although the volunteers* (*d*) " *meant well,*" by aſſerting the independence of their country, yet that in fact they " *miſtook the buſineſs entirely,*" and that in your opinion it would have been *better for Ireland to have remained in her former ſituation of ſervile dependence.*—Why, Sir, even in that ſtate of ſervile dependence, ſhe yet rejected a Union, and ſhe did ſo, not merely becauſe ſhe felt that it would for ever prevent her riſing in wealth and proſperity, but becauſe ſhe well knew, from every principle of political reaſoning, and from every inſtance of political analogy, *that it would for ever rivet her chains.*

You ſtate as a fourth objection, (*e*) Muſt it not be the height of folly to part with the management of our own concerns for ever? To this you ſay the anſwer is obvious, namely, that we ſhall retain the management of our concerns *as far as is neceſſary!* —I wiſh you had honoured us with your opinion on this abſtract queſtion—*How far it may be neceſſary for a nation to retain the management of its own concerns.* How would ſuch a propoſition be received at Weſtminſter or at Whitehall—That there were or *might be national concerns of which it was not neceſſary for the nation to retain the management!!!*

(*d*) Page 44. (*e*) Page 45.

You

You are obliged as a further anſwer to this objection, to go again into the proportion of power to be given to Ireland in England.—Indeed, Sir, if the Iriſh Members in the Britiſh Parliament, or the Britiſh Cabinet, could be relied upon—if we had any ſecurity to expect that they would but feel *one half of that love and preference for their country* which an Engliſhman never loſes in Ireland, *let the rewards of his ſervices here be never ſo unbounded*—if that preference for his own country *were fortified with ſuch a contempt for England* as you and many of your country *profeſs and feel for us*—perhaps with *equal numbers* Ireland might have a fair chance of *equal meaſures* in executive and legiſlative diſpenſations—But as paſt experience affords no ſuch proſpect—as the *wealth* and *power* of Great Britain, her abundant *ſources of pleaſure and amuſement*, her *civilization*, her *commerce*, her *manufactures*, her *morals*, her *manners*, her *eſtabliſhment*, and her *conſtitution*, are, as you ſtate, ſo tranſcendantly ſuperior to every thing that belongs to Ireland; and as it has been *ſo much the faſhion* for our nobility and gentry *to affect to be conſidered* (in inclination at leaſt) *as Engliſhmen*—and as England will always be able to hold out to them ſuch ſubſtantial temptations to *act as if they were Engliſhmen*—I confeſs, even with equal numbers in the Cabinet and the Parliament, *I ſhould utterly deſpair for my country*—But when we know that the arrangement of the Cabinet cannot be ſubject to regulations by act of Parliament without overturning the Conſtitution; that if there could be a law for ſuch a purpoſe, no Iriſhman would ever

ever be introduced there who had not firſt *done away the original ſin of Iriſh birth* by a full and practical recantation *of every principle of attachment to Ireland.* When we are told that we ſhall have a proportion of only *one* to *five* in the Parliament of the United Kingdom; and above all when we conſider, *that the meaſure can never be accompliſhed but at the price of a ſpecific bribe, or as you call* it, *compenſation* for every vote that ſhall be given to ſupport it—and that the meaſure which is to *leave no hope* for Ireland, but in the ſteady incorruptible (I had almoſt ſaid) romantic patriotiſm of her repreſentatives, is to carry with it a practical demonſtration *that we have no integrity or virtue* among us—When all theſe matters are conſidered, I will aſk in your own words—*Whether it can be leſs than the height of folly to part with the management of our own concerns for ever?*

To the fifth ſuppoſed objection *(f)* "that a kingdom which ſubjects itſelf to the will of another, becomes its ſlave"—you are obliged to give an anſwer founded on the following unmeaning aſſertion: "that while any part of the Union remains free, the whole muſt be free"—And you aſk, "who would deſire to have better ſecurity for his liberty than an Engliſhman poſſeſſes? And how will the liberties of either country be endangered, when a common body of repreſentatives ſhall be formed, &c. &c."—To your firſt poſition, that freedom in one part of the empire will ſecure the freedom of the reſt, I offer as an anſwer and contradiction, the ſituation of

(f) Page 46.

England

England and all her dependencies, until America ſeparated, and Ireland threw off the yoke—During that time, England was as free as ſhe is now, and yet Ireland and America were in a ſtate of ſlavery.—You will ſay, neither America nor Ireland had repreſentatives in the Britiſh Parliament—to which I reply, that the *ſmall* proportion of *one* repreſentative to *five* cannot *ſecure* either the actual or theoretical liberty of Ireland, for that our repreſentatives will, at beſt, be no more than ſo many agents and advocates for their country, and not a true repreſentation of the people, poſſeſſing an inſurmountable *veto* in all queſtions affecting the intereſts of Ireland; but on the contrary, a meaſure of the United Parliament directly acting upon Ireland, might be carried by a majority of five to one with *every Iriſh member's voice againſt it.*—Has England then no better ſecurity for her freedom, than Ireland will have, or has Ireland at preſent any ſecurity for her freedom whatſoever, when ſhe ſhall be told that ſhe is ſo far in the power of Parliament, that that Parliament can annihilate its own voice, and put her in a ſituation to be governed, *not by a majority of her own repreſentatives*, but by an aſſembly, *in which even their unanimous voice would appear but a trifling inſignificant minority*—And I aſk you, Sir, does not England now enjoy this proud ſuperiority over Ireland, that if any man were to preſume to hold out ſuch doctrines of the omnipotence of the Parliament, and make ſimilar propoſals reſpecting England, accompanied with alluſions to *force*, and military and naval ſuperiority, as you have done with regard to Ireland, he would by the Houſe of Commons of Great Britain, be

be voted an enemy to his country, and profecuted accordingly—And as for the liberties of Ireland after a Union, they may be *endangered*, nay, *completely overthrown*, whenever the repreſentatives of the People of Great Britain ſhall think *ſuch a meaſure would conduce to the general intereſts of the empire*—a ſentiment not *new* in England.

But you attempt to ſhew the preſent times, (*g*) " when the people are in a ſtate of irritation and turbulence, and the kingdom engaged in a war," a proper one to agitate the queſtion. The argument with which you ſupport this poſition, is one which is calculated for ever to embroil thoſe two countries in ſomething more than ordinary contentions. You ſtate, that becauſe the volunteers, whom you are pleaſed in common with the late rebels to ſtile, (*h*) " enemies of their country," took advantage of the embarraſſment of Great Britain in the laſt war, to aſſert the independence of their country, therefore *we* (here for the firſt time you have avowed yourſelf an Engliſhman) ſhould turn againſt them their own game, and make uſe of a time of war to *eſtabliſh the ſecurity of the empire*; thus, according to the old doctrine, arguing *againſt the independence* of Ireland, as *injurious to the general intereſts* of the empire.

But for the peace of that empire, I deprecate all ſuch dangerous topics.—If the conſideration that

(*g*) Page 47. (*h*) Page 48.

Ireland

Ireland acquired her independence by taking advantage of the embarraſſment of England, *be a warrant for England now to avail herſelf of the contentions in Ireland*, to rob her again of that acquiſition;—when are we to look for an end of the conteſt? Inſtead of living together in terms of amity and kindneſs, thoſe two countries will be ever on the watch, *each to avail itſelf of the diſtreſs of the other*—England with a *view to power*—Ireland in *purſuit of freedom*; and of courſe they will contract a mutual deſire to involve one another in eternal misfortunes.—But of a ſyſtem ſo diſcordant, there muſt ſhortly be an end; for ſurely, no laws can be framed ſufficiently coheſive to hold two countries together, between whom ſo much avowed hoſtility, and ſuch incorrigible principles of repulſion, are found to exiſt.—The narrow limits of a haſty work like this, will not allow me to wander from the ſubject, or I ſhould here with little difficulty reſcue the volunteers from your malice; I truſt, however, to the gratitude of their country, that it is unneceſſary.

You feel that you are under a neceſſity of endeavouring to prove, (*i*) "that a Union is within the power and competence of parliament."—I will on that ſubject concede to you thus much—and perhaps with the views you ſeem to entertain, you will deſire no more; an army *might dictate*—a parliament *might vote* ſuch a law—ſo far is phyſically

(*i*) *Ibid.*

poſſible—but *no vote of Parliament*—no *military Power* could ever deprive the People, *ſo betrayed and conquered*, of their right to *repel* that power, and *repeal* that law, (*k*) *by every means that God and nature might put into their hands.*

You ſeem diſſatisfied, as you advance towards a concluſion, with the mode in which you before boaſted of having "obviated the arguments that might be drawn from national dignity and national pride," and you feel it neceſſary again to return to the charge; and, indeed, I believe we are on this ſubject indebted to you for the only ſincere, candid, and plain-dealing paragraph in the whole work.—With avowed and malevolent rancour you expreſs, *even in exclamations*, your *diſguſt at the independence of Ireland*, and you fairly open the views which England entertains in a Union, namely, that Ireland ſhall contribute her full proportion to the public expence of the Empire, and (*l*) "convert that protection, which ſhe "now receives as a favour, into a right." Thus then the whole is one of the Britiſh Miniſter's ſchemes of finance to relieve Great Britain, by ſharing her burdens with Ireland, and to extend to Ireland her proportion of four hundred millions of debt, and her quota of the propoſed tax on income.—As to the expence of the army now in Ireland, of which

(*k*) Parliamentary Debates in England on the American War.

(*l*) Page 50.

you

you ſeem ſo feelingly to complain, I beg to aſk, was the grant of thoſe troops *wholly diſintereſted* on the part of Great Britain? Was it *merely as a favour* to Ireland that ſhe ſent them? Had ſhe *no fears* for her own ſafety and liberty, when the Loyaliſts in Ireland were in danger of being cruſhed by the rebellion, or the whole kingdom likely to be reduced by foreign invaſion? —You have here (as far as your weight will go) given credit to one of the moſt malignant, and, I candidly admit, moſt unfounded charges that has ever been advanced againſt the Government of theſe countries—namely, that for many years paſt they have been endeavouring to promote diſcontents and excite diſſenſions in Ireland, in hopes of occaſioning ſome critical convulſion, that ſhould afford them a pretext to get an army into the country, and enable them to dictate to Ireland ſuch terms, as might recover to Great Britain the power which ſhe formerly enjoyed.

You offer as an inducement to the Proteſtants of Ireland, to put this country for ever in the power of Great Britain—a ſtrange picture of the fluctuations of Britiſh councils!—*(m)* Of the Proteſtant Aſcendancy you ſay, " a party " in England term it by opprobrious names; " great leaders in oppoſition, poſſibly the future " miniſters of England, condemn it; and

(m) Page 52.

" ſome members of the Britiſh Parliament are " ſuppoſed to be adverſe to it." Its ſtability, you ſay, " may reſt upon accident, upon the " death of a *ſingle* character, upon the change " of a Miniſter, or the temper of a Lord Lieu- " tenant, and the policy of the ſyſtem is much " doubted in England."—Whatever may be the policy or juſtice of the ſyſtem of Proteſtant Aſcendancy, however the champions of either party may be deſirous of acquiring partizans, wherever they can be found, I think it would be but a prudent meaſure for them at leaſt to agree in this—not to look for auxiliaries in Great Britain, if no better dependance can be placed on the ſtability and ſincerity of the principles which operate there upon the ſubject, than what can be expected from your ſtatement.

I have followed you faithfully throughout your whole work, with, I confeſs, no ſmall degree of confidence in the anſwer I have given to it in all its points—a confidence not founded on any ſenſe of my own capacity, but on a feeling that there was no difficulty in the taſk.—In your oſtentatious diſplay of force and power—your rude and inſulting language towards Ireland—your ſtateſmanlike contempt of ſincerity and plain-dealing, ſteady and unvarying, except where your Britiſh partialities hurried you away—your endeavours, further to embroil the contending intereſts of the kingdom, and your flimſy efforts to blind the underſtandings

ſtandings of them all—in your miſtatements and miſrepreſentations—your puerile examples and disjointed analogies—your futile arguments and unfounded aſſertions—in your logical and political ſoleciſms—in your *management* and *compenſation*—and in the dangerous and ſuſpicious doctrine you openly avow throughout —I have found a hoſt of allies.—

Convinced as I am, that any Union would complete the ruin of Ireland—and that even if it were not ſeriouſly detrimental, that it is not neceſſary for her intereſts—perſuaded that the meaſure would ultimately involve this country in the *next greateſt calamity* that could befal it—*a total ſeparation from England*—I am yet deſirous to ſee your "promiſed ſcheme accom-"panied with calculations and details;"—not indeed expecting to find any thing in that ſcheme that would reconcile me to your project —but becauſe I entertain a firm conviction that,

"——As the toad, ugly and venomous,
"Wears yet a *precious jewel* in its head,"

it will, like your preſent Eſſay, carry with it more than its own refutation—

My object was merely to anſwer whatever you had advanced upon the ſubject, and not to enter into diſcuſſion beyond that limit—I fear I have been too diffuſe, and that to go through my tedious and unintereſting pages will conſume more of the public time than a name,

unknown

unknown and unvalued, can entitle me to expect—and yet I cannot lay aſide my pen without addreſſing to you a few words in your private capacity as a gentleman.—I am unacquainted with your perſon—your character I know to be reſpectable—your talents are certainly of magnitude—your honour and integrity, in concerns detached from politics, has never been impeached—I have been informed that your manners are poliſhed, and that your diſpoſition is amiable in the extreme.—This kingdom owes you obligations as an able and prudent Miniſter.—Even on the preſent occaſion, I reſpect the motive which has brought you forward.—Suffer not, I beſeech you, a ſentiment of anger to enter your mind againſt me.—Our feelings are congenial—there is between us but a geographical difference—You are the bold champion for England—I am the humble advocate for Ireland.—I conclude nearly in the words of my diſtinguiſhed countryman, when he addreſſed an Engliſh ſtateſman on a parallel occaſion, (may the iſſues be parallel!)—"*You are toiling to relieve and aggran-*
"*diſe* YOUR *Country—I labour to preſerve the li-*
"*berties of* MINE."

CHARLES BALL.

DUBLIN,
DEC. 8th, 1798.

From the Author

A

REPLY

TO A

PAMPHLET,

ENTITLED,

ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST

AN

UNION.

BY RICHARD JEBB, Esq.

Dublin.

PRINTED FOR WILLIAM JONES, No. 26, COLLEGE-GREEN,
OPPOSITE THE COLLEGE.

1798.

DEDICATION.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE author of the following pages has, perhaps, an apology to make to the public for obtruding upon them obſervations on ſome ſubjects, which lie ſo much without the ſphere of his purſuits and ſtudies.—But the avidity with which every publication on the ſubject is received, and the ſilence of gentlemen beſt qualified to inform us on ſome of the moſt important topics, will excuſe him for offering thoſe remarks on commercial matters, which he is ſufficiently convinced muſt be extremely imperfect. However, the ſources of his information are well known—his facts he truſts will be found to be correctly ſtated—and his concluſions appear to himſelf fair and natural.

He has introduced, perhaps unadviſedly, one or two collateral opinions, of the propriety of which indeed doubts may be juſtly

juſtly entertained—particularly reſpecting the policy of our being *bound* to follow England in her ſupport of a war, and of our contributing hereafter to the reduction of the debt of England.—But they ſo far conduce to the main arguments, by ſhewing, that, *if expedient*, the meaſures could be adopted with equal or greater convenience by our own Parliament.

In his obſervations on the Regency, it is unneceſſary for him to ſay he meant no alluſion to certain venerated characters, who took that part on the queſtion of Regency which the author cenſures.—Their views and motives have never been queſtioned—it is equally unneceſſary for him to ſay, who they are, *that* he would thus diſtinguiſh from their corrupt aſſociates.

A

REPLY, &c.

THE great queſtion of an Union is at length formally announced; at leaſt it has been declared by high authority that it is to be ſubmitted to Parliament, and a publication has appeared upon the ſubject, generally underſtood to proceed from the pen of a perſon much in confidence.

That the feelings of the Country would be affected, that its pride, and perhaps its vengeance would be rouſed by the bare mention of the ſurrender of its legiſlature, the author of that publication ſeems to be apprized, and therefore wiſely enough beſpeaks a cool, and calm diſcuſſion, to which he well knew the nature

of his ſubject little entitled him. The author of the following pages heartily concurs in deprecating both *paſſion*, and *force*. It is with calm and dignified reſolution that he truſts the nation will meet this injurious inſult, and he hopes that it is not by *force*, the miniſter will attempt to accompliſh his project. But that ſome ſuſpicion ſhould be entertained on the latter ground, is no way ſurprizing, from the extraordinary circumſtances, under which the propoſition is made.—The nation panting and breathleſs after the horrors and agonies of a bloody rebellion, animoſities, religious and civil, ſtill diſtracting us—a moſt formidable army ſtill and neceſſarily kept up—great diſcretionary powers as neceſſarily ſtill exerciſed by the executive magiſtrate—under circumſtances ſuch as theſe, who will venture to expreſs in the honeſt terms of virtuous indignation his opinion on the annihilation of our Parliament? Who will venture to ſpeak the language with which a few years back the degrading project would have been received? The terror of the triangles and the gallows may perhaps operate as forcibly as the arguments of the Secretary.

The author of the publication alluded to, affects to conſider *chiefly* the advantages to reſult to *Ireland* from the Union, and as the friend of *Ireland*, he uſes his beſt arguments, ſuch

ſuch as they are, in its favour. It would not be polite to queſtion the veracity of a gentleman aſſerting his motives and objects, and therefore without inſinuating what might be the views of the *Engliſh* ſervant of an *Engliſh* cabinet, his work ſhall be treated as the *pure* and *diſintereſted* production of a true born Iriſhman, expreſſing the convictions of an unbiaſſed underſtanding.

The great and happy conſequences of an Union he expects will be the calming and ſoothing the public mind—the removal of all religious and political animoſities—the civilization of a barbarous and turbulent people—the introduction of induſtry and the arts, of a reſpect for the laws, of manufactures, commerce and wealth, and the conſequent aggrandiſement of the Empire in ſtrength, power and importance. If ſuch indeed were to be the mighty conſequences, if the magic of the Secretary's pen could extend the omnipotence of Parliament to the works of Nature and annihilate the ſea which ſeparates the kingdoms, if Engliſh manners, Engliſh morals, Engliſh arts, and above all, *Engliſh Liberty*, the parent of whatever adorns and exalts England above the reſt of the world, were to follow, who would not laugh at the ſilly declaimer that would talk of national pride and national independance? Nay, if theſe con-

conſequences were problematical, but the exiſtence of ſafety of the *Britiſh Empire*, on whoſe ſafety and exiſtence the happineſs of *Ireland* unqueſtionably reſts, were dependant on the adoption of this meaſure, on that ground alone the ſacrifice ſhould be made of national pride, and every good man ſhould endeavour to ſoften down the warm feelings which characteriſe, and I think do not diſgrace our country. But it is from a thorough conviction that none of thoſe happy conſequences are to be expected, on the contrary that the greateſt dangers are to be dreaded, extending perhaps to the connection itſelf, that in my opinion this meaſure ſhould be reſiſted.

The grand and primary conſideration paramount to every other, however important in itſelf, to trade, manufactures and civilization, is the effect on the Empire; on the ſafety and power of the Empire depend the ſafety and power of its members, of mighty Britain, as well as inferior Ireland, and if, as the Secretary ſeems to dread, any colliſion between the countries is to be apprehended from the preſent ſtate of their connection, ſome argument would certainly ariſe for an alteration.

But let us ſee how the queſtion ſtands—no circumſtance that has hitherto cauſed any (I will not

non-fay diſagreement) but any diſcuſſion now exiſts between the two kingdoms—our conſtitution has been long ſince finally ſatisfactorily and it is hoped *irrevocably* ſettled. The King of England is ipſo facto King of Ireland. The whole of the prerogative, which he poſſeſſes in the former kingdom, and which is found ſo ſufficicient for its happy adminiſtration—the whole of the patronage, which ſupplies the place of obſolete prerogative he poſſeſſes as amply here, as in England—here in a comparatively poor country, as in England rich proud and independant. From what ſtubborn ſymptoms then the well informed author has deduced his fears of differences between the Iriſh Parliament and the executive power, I am at a loſs to conjecture—but I believe he himſelf could give the moſt ſatisfactory anſwer to the apprehenſions he raiſes.

In one and one only inſtance is he juſtified by experience—the memorable inſtance of the *regency*—but what does this ſolitary inſtance prove? A difference from the *exiſting* cabinet of England in compliance with the wiſhes of, what was ſuppoſed to be, the *ſucceeding one*—and whatever reſpect may be due to the names and characters of the leaders of the prevailing party on that memorable occaſion, it muſt be admitted, that their conduct was a ſacrifice of principle, and of the ſpirit of our connexion with Great Britain, to perſonal ambition and party intereſts—but the very

very circumſtances of that tranſaction ſhew how improbable it is, that patronage in an Iriſh Parliament will ever operate againſt prerogative. The meaſure was carried, not by a regard to the intereſts or the dignity of Ireland, but by a belief that the party gratified would have the diſpoſal of the patronage, and the exerciſe of the prerogative of the crown. When the queſtion was fortunately ſet to reſt by the happy recovery of our Sovereign, the excuſe of thoſe who had turned their backs on the adminiſtration that foſtered them, their ſhameleſs and profligate excuſe was, that they had made a *bad gueſs*.

This certainly is an inſtance, but it is the only one, wherein the Iriſh Parliament ever differed from that of Great Britain on an imperial queſtion, and it would perhaps ſet at defiance the ingenuity of the ſagacious author of the "Arguments," to ſuggeſt another inſtance, wherein we ſhould expect a ſimilar colliſion. This however was a *caſus omiſſus* in our conſtitution; upon every principle there is as much neceſſity that the regent of Britain ſhould be regent of Ireland, with the ſame powers and under the ſame reſtrictions, as that there ſhould be one king, with the ſame prerogatives. Why the poſſibility of the recurrence of the evil has been permitted to continue for ſo many years, it is not for the author to explain. But certainly the miniſter, with great facility in Parliament, and to the entire

approbation

approbation of the country, might have ſet the queſtion at reſt for ever. The plauſible argument however for the poſſible differences of opinion, on *imperial queſtions*, might have been weakened: and this evil, ſo eaſily and ſo ſatisfactorily remediable, has been ſuffered to continue. One inſtance then and one only, an inſtance never likely to occur again, and whoſe recurrence might be prevented, it may be aſſerted, with the unanimous aſſent of Parliament and of the nation, has been given, of any danger to the empire, by the exiſtence of ſeparate Parliaments. The *official author* is a ſenſible and *experienced* man, he cannot be ſerious when he talks of the Parliament of Ireland, "pleaſing to act contrary to the policy of the Empire; exhorting the King to make war, when the views of England are pacific; or declaring againſt a war, when England is driven into one by neceſſity." The caſe is without example, and the ſtrongeſt ties of intereſt, public and *private*, national and *individual*, muſt forbid us to ſuppoſe there would be ſuch a reſiſtance of the *patronage* of the crown, in order to oppoſe its *prerogative*.

Far different from this conſideration are other queſtions alluded to—the Catholic queſtion particularly, and the commercial propoſitions. So far as they came under Parliamentary diſcuſſion here, they were national and not imperial concerns; and they afford the ſtrongeſt

proof

proof of the neceſſity of a national and particular Parliament, to regulate the domeſtic relations and economy of the kingdom. Whether the Parliament were right or wrong in firſt reſiſting, and afterwards conceding the Catholic claims, whether they ſhould ever have granted any thing, or whether they ſhould have granted all. Whether they were actuated by misjudging pride and radical ignorance of the ſubject in rejecting the commercial regulations, is not now to be conſidered. But, ſo far as thoſe circumſtances came before them, ſo far as they were preſented to Parliament, and debated upon, on all ſides, both by miniſters, and oppoſition, they were treated merely as *Iriſh* queſtions; no doubt was raiſed upon them as endangering, affecting, injuring, or ſecuring the imperial connexion; ſo that before any uſe can be made of the conduct of Ireland with reſpect to theſe, it muſt be maintained, that Ireland is unfit to diſcuſs or determine a queſtion, relating merely to her own immediate concerns, and the ſame argument would apply to Britain, or any other country, diſcuſſing, and excluſively deciding a queſtion, in which itſelf was *excluſively intereſted*—the more particularly, that queſtion relates to the individual country, on the contrary; the better fitted muſt it be, to form a ſound and rational opinion upon it, on its various and minute relations and conſequences, and the more unfit muſt another country be, ſituated

ted differently, to interfere or to legiſlate for it. The Catholick queſtion therefore was unfortunately choſen as an inſtance: had this been left to the good ſenſe of the nation, operating gradually and naturally, neither prematurely forced, nor raſhly checked, we ſhould not have witneſſed the groſs and unfortunate inconſiſtencies, which diſgraced our Parliament and our country. Violent grand jury reſolutions, ſuppoſed to be countenanced by government; Catholic petitions ignominiouſly kicked out of the Houſe of Commons; next ſeſſion paſſed. Full participation of rights promiſed, from the higheſt authority—and, in the ſame ſeſſion, the ſtipulated meaſures refuſed; all theſe inconſiſtencies flowed from *Britiſh* interference, in what was not *imperial* but *national* concern, and therefore all tend moſt ſtrongly to ſhew the ſuperior advantage of a domeſtic Parliament for the regulation of domeſtic concerns. But it may be ſaid, this is an imperial matter, it concerns the religion of the ſtate, which ſhould be the ſame in both kingdoms—grant that it is, it only follows that it ſhould be finally adjuſted, and that, as in the caſe of the King, it ſhould be enacted by both legiſlatures, that the religion of the Parliaments ſhould be the ſame, and that neither ſhould alter it without the aſſent of the other, but till this be done, it remains an individual concern of each kingdom, of which each, according to its local circumſtances, is the beſt judge.

But it is ſaid, the Iriſh Parliament is a theatre for Britiſh faction; from the application the miniſterial author makes, I ſuſpect he means Britiſh *oppoſition*, and that his object is, to diminiſh, circumſcribe, or ſmother oppoſition to the exiſting cabinet, of which he is ſo faithful a ſervant. That much advantage would redound to his employers, in this reſpect, the example of Scotland leaves little room to doubt. The Scots Lords and Commoners give very little trouble on the ſcore of oppoſition to the miniſter; but, whether the addition of 100 members, lords or gentlemen to the miniſterial phalanx, would be an imperial advantage, is a point, the moſt conſtitutional and loyal Engliſhman will perhaps be inclined to doubt, as much as the moſt factious Iriſhman.

To brand with the name of factious the minority in Parliament, has ever been the trick of the minority, and epithets have varied with the circumſtances of the times. In the reigns of William and Anne—*Jacobite*, and Pretender were bandied about by both Whig and Tory, according as they were in power, and perhaps with equal juſtice. For the ſcandalous anecdotes of thoſe reigns ſhew, that miniſters, no more than oppoſition, were exempt from the contagion of foreign influence, and foreign bribes. * Whether, when

* Vide Dalrymple's Memoirs, and Macpherſon's Hiſtory and State Papers.

when the lapſe of time ſhall have made it ſafe to unfold to mankind the ſecrets of the preſent day, ſimilar motives ſhall be found to have operated, it may not be prudent or delicate to conjecture; but as to the branding with the epithets of Jacobite and Republican, every man who differs from the miniſter, the trick is ſtale, and has nearly loſt its effect. Suppoſing, however, for a moment the fact to be, that the Engliſh oppoſition are a deſperate republican faction, bribed by French gold, or what would be equally criminal, bent on the accompliſhment of their ambitious views, at the hazard of ſeparating the two kingdoms, how are we to conclude from experience, the only ſafe guide in matter of ſuch import, that our ſeparate exiſtence would facilitate their machinations? Not ſurely from the experience of the preſent day; never was any parliament ſo zealous, ſo vigilant, ſo anxious, ſo ſcrutinizing, as the Iriſh Parliament, on the occaſion of the late rebellion; not a breath of murmur or oppoſition was uttered againſt the ſtrongeſt meaſures, that adminiſtration wiſhed to adopt, every additional weapon that the executive magiſtrate demanded, every guinea that he could require, voted, not merely with chearfulneſs, but with anticipating alacrity, and without a ſingle diſſenting voice. Here was the pre-eminent advantage of a ſeparate Parliament; had ſuch been the conduct of a Britiſh Parliament, though with the concurrence of

every Iriſh member in it; faction on this ſide of the water might ſtill have ſaid—you are miſinformed, you are miſguided, the Iriſh members are the creatures of a miniſter, they abuſe your credulity; it is not a rebellion, it is only the ebullition of the wretched ignorant peaſantry, goaded on to acts of violence by military tyranny—ſuch *was* the language of perſons, even of the beſt intentions, (for ſuch in ſpite of faction, are the Duke of Devonſhire, Lord Fitzwilliam, &c.) of perſons, whoſe connexions here procured them as good information, as any men can have in *another kingdom*, and therefore as good as our members could have ſitting in the Britiſh Parliament. It was only a Parliament ſitting upon the ſpot, ſeeing with its own eyes, and hearing with its own ears, that was adequate to ſtop the utterance of ſuch dangerous and unfounded ſentiments, no man could be hardy enough, when rebellion ſurrounded the very walls of our city, lurked in our dwellings, and met us in the face of our moſt truſted ſervants, no man could be found hardy enough to deny the dreadful fact, to palliate the crimes, or to refuſe the neceſſary aid to the executive power.

But at the very ſame moment, when the *facts* had reached the ears of the Parliament of England, was there a great body of the

prime

prime Nobility of England, as deeply intereſted in the integrity of the Empire, and in the individual ſafety of Ireland, as any Iriſh Members could be; ſo ignorant of circumſtances, notwithſtanding all their means of information, as to divide a conſiderable number in favour of a moſt unwiſe and dangerous interference; ſuppoſe then, that at that awful moment, an Imperial Parliament had been ſitting upon our concerns: the ſame miſrepreſentations and miſconceptions, which led aſtray ſo many perſons deeply concerned in the welfare of Ireland, might have alſo miſled the majority of the Iriſh Members. Facts, imperfectly known, without any of their minute and nice circumſtances, and ſtated by apparently the beſt authorities, might have a powerful effect in the Parliament. The executive magiſtrate, whether military or civil, acting here according to the beſt of his judgment, would be thwarted or intimidated by the dread of cenſure or puniſhment, from a power inadequate to judge ſoundly of the merits of his conduct, and thus he would be paralyſed inſtead of encouraged in thoſe bold and decided meaſures, which on the late occaſion could alone have ſaved us. To the inveſtigation of an Iriſh Parliament are we indebted for the developement of the deep laid conſpiracy, in vain could we have expected, in another kingdom,

ſuch

ſuch compleat and undeniable proofs of the whole origin, progreſs and circumſtances of the rebellion; and therefore there was as much ſound wiſdom as true patriotiſm in the expreſſions of a great judicial character when he hoped "*that the oppoſition of England would be now convinced that the Parliament of Ireland were alone competent to the affairs of Ireland.*"*

When the mutiny of the ſeamen menaced the exiſtence of the Empire, Mr. Sheridan ſtepped forward, with his advice, and received the applauſe of the miniſtry themſelves, for his able and patriotic aſſiſtance. What was his remedy? That if the mutiny continued, *the Parliament of Great Britain* ſhould travel from *Weſtminſter to Portſmouth*; and never ceaſe its deliberations, even in the very face of the mutineers and expoſed to their fury, till it had quelled the rebellion, or periſhed in the attempt. The ſubſiding of the ſtorm happily made it unneceſſary to reſort to this laſt extremity. May no ſimilar emergency ever ariſe again! may the raſh project of miniſtry, if it ſhall be obſtinately perſevered in, raiſe no flames of diſcord in this kingdom! but ſhould unhappily the diſguſts and diſſenſions of an angry people invite the enemy to our ſhores—ſhould the ardour and enthuſiaſm of our gentry feel any abatement from the fenſe of national degradation—the miniſter as well as

Ireland

* The Chancellor.

Ireland may lament, when it is too late, the deſtruction of our native Parliament.

The miniſterial Author ſtates the circumſtances of our preſent connexion—the inconveniencies ariſing from the jealouſies and bickerings it occaſions—and their probable removal by an Union:—But indeed, to a ſuperficial reader, every argument that he employs on this head ſeems to apply moſt ſtrongly againſt himſelf. The reſidence of the Sovereign in England—the predominating weight of the Britiſh Cabinet—the number of abſentees. No Iriſhman was ever yet ſo abſurd as to complain of the King's reſidence in London, or ſo weak as to expect that any circumſtance could ever produce any alteration in this reſpect—but whatever viſionaries might dream, under the preſent ſtate of things, of the King coming to Ireland—is it poſſible that a Union could realiſe his fancies. As little does any reaſonable man complain of the ſuperintending and directing powers of a Britiſh Cabinet. The neceſſity of this has never been combated, but by thoſe, who would wiſh to diſſolve the connexion, and who would, in caſe of an Union argue more forcibly, and it is feared more effectually. It is the *degree* of the interference, it is the quantum of weight, that ſhould be given to powerful leaders at home, which has ever been the ſubject of diſpute. Not whether my Lord Lieutenant ſhould take the

grand

grand outline of his measures from the British minister, or an Irish junto. But whether, in the detail of measures, in those matters, which must necessarily be devolved upon the discretion of the Viceroy, Lord A. or Lord B. or Mr. C. should be consulted and followed. Such are the the jealousies, such are the petty contests, for *consequence*, for distinction—for emolument, which produce the jealousies—the squabbles, that no doubt vex and perplex a Lord Lieutenant, but with which the nation has nothing to do, and in which it takes no part. Sometimes indeed these disputes are carried across the water, and break in upon the more important labours of the minister—they removed one Lord Lieutenant, and, perhaps, they endeavoured to remove a second. But the existing circumstances shew how little trouble they will give, by a moderate firmness in an honourable and virtuous course. Let a Lord Lieutenant of *good sense*, and what is better of *good intentions*, previously apprized of the cause of public discontents, use *his own eyes* and *his own ears*—let him steadily pursue his course, unaffected by the turbulent clamours, or the undermining calumny, of disappointed factions; let him find a determined support in the Cabinet of England; let him bestow preferment on the pious, the learned, and the industrious—regardless of the jobbing and the venal, and he will find his labours soon become easy, and the gratitude and blessings of a tran-

quitized and ſatisfied country follow his name and the Cabinet under which he acts. *Such is the ſituation of Ireland.* But ſuppoſe the ſituation changed—Iriſhmen placed in the Engliſh Cabinet, and no impartial and diſintereſted medium between that Cabinet and the Iriſh Nation. All meaſures muſt then be tranſacted by a *Great Contractor*; that is all meaſures that would be entruſted to Iriſhmen, the filling up of biſhopricks, of judges places, of ſeats at the revenue board.

But "*the Britiſh Cabinet would receive a mixture of Iriſhmen!*" "*The counſels of the Britiſh Parliament would be much influenced by the* WEIGHT AND ABILITY *of the* IRISH MEMBERS." !

Is the under Secretary, an *Engliſhman*, is he ſerious when he ſpeaks of the Britiſh Parliament being *much influenced* by the *weight and ability* of the *Iriſh* members? or does he fondly ſuppoſe that we have never heard of the *irreſiſtible weight and influence* of the Britiſh miniſter in the Britiſh Parliament, or that we are ſtrangers to the name and the character of Mr. Pitt. Mr. Pitt ſuffer the Britiſh Parliament to be much influenced by the weight and ability of the Iriſh members! Mr. Pitt, who could whirl out of the cabinet the gigantic Thurlow,—Mr. Pitt, who, at

the very outſet of his adminiſtration, could brave and conquer the Houſe of Commons of *Britain!* Mr. Pitt, *who carried* A UNION! Mr. Pitt, in the plenitude of his power and his glory, much influenced by the weight and ability of the Iriſh Members! No my worthy credulous countrymen, future Lords and Commoners of the United Parliament, however you may eſtimate your conſequence and your talents, it is impoſſible your ſelf-love, exorbitant as it may be, can ſo groſly deceive you. Your vanity or your avarice may indeed be gratified, ſome one of you may obtain the patronage of Ireland, or diſtinct boards may be erected, at which Iriſhmen ſhall preſide for the Church, the Law, and the Revenue. But influence the counſels of the Britiſh Parliament! you cannot be ſo ignorant or ſo vain as to expect it. Let the Button-Makers of Birmingham, or the Fuſtian-Weavers of Mancheſter raiſe an outcry of Iriſh rivalry, and let our Mr. Foſter, with all his weight and all his ability, demonſtrate the ruin of our manufacture from a compliance with their demands, and I believe the *influence of all the Iriſh Members*, muſt yield to the *mechanics* of a ſingle town.

But "there would be no claſhing of diſtinct in-
"tereſts, the cultivation, the improvement of
"Ireland like that of Scotland would be pecu-
liarly

" ſtarly attended to, as the increaſe of our " wealth conſequence, ability and power muſt " tend to increaſe the ſecurity of the Empire, " not to endanger it; *and in proportion that* " *we felt the benefit of the Union, our at-* " *tachment to it would be ſtrengthened.*" This may be in ſome meaſure true, as ſoon as there was " *no fear of Ireland being too pow-* " *erful to be governed.*" But ſo long as this fear operates, ſo long as " *it is manifeſt that* " *a connection with France has been renewed,*" ſo long " *as it is obvious the French will* " *not ceaſe to intrigue in this kingdom:*" ſo long, it muſt be the plaineſt policy of England, " *to keep down Ireland, leſt ſhe ſhould* " *be* TOO POWERFUL TO GOVERN."

For myſelf I aver, that however warm my feelings of national pride, feelings which in *me* are as much *Engliſh* as *Iriſh*, I ſhould rather ſubmit to the uncontrouled domination of England, and to the deſtruction of our Parliament, without any equivalent real or pretended, than accept aid of France; ſo rooted is my deteſtation of her horrid principles, and ſo firm is my conviction that the day which ſhould make us her ally, would confirm us her ſlave, and that I would myſelf co-operate in keeping down the proſperity of my Country, if her becoming " *too powerful,*" were to end in ſuch a cataſtrophe.

But it is the ſincere conviction of my mind that the propoſed Union, the inflicting ſo deep a wound in our national pride, the death of our Parliament, the reducing a powerful, growing kingdom to a ſmall and petty member of the Empire, will multiply and invigorate the friends of the French connection, and diſhearten, diſguſt, alienate, and diminiſh the friends to the Britiſh intereſt. Who are they whoſe pride and conſequence will be moſt humbled? the loyal and ſpirited yeomen and gentry, who have fought and bled in ſupport of our conſtitution as it now ſtands. Who will leave the country, or ſwell the liſt of abſentees? (a conſequence which the advocate for Union admits,) the wretched, corrupted rabble, with the profligate conſpirators? or the loyal and powerful nobility and gentry? five and twenty of the principal nobility. Eighty or ninety of the firſt gentlemen, neceſſarily withdrawn to attend Parliament; add to theſe, all who will be attracted by intereſt, or ſeduced by pleaſure, or ſickened at the deſerted ſtreets of Dublin: every one, in ſhort, who could command, reclaim, or ſoothe a wretched peaſantry, will be loſt to Ireland, and the kingdom muſt become one vaſt barrack, for military force will be the only one left to keep down our corrupted and licentious people. In this ſituation, will Britiſh Capital, Britiſh merchants, Britiſh manufactures deſert their ſecure, warm comfortable

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eſtabliſhments, to ſettle among a humiliated, degraded and diſcontented people!

But the Catholics will be gratified, and their ſatisfaction will reſtore peace and order! Perhaps the Secretary may have ſome ſecret "opening" —but it was certainly prudent not to give a more open hint, leſt he ſhould alarm the zealous Proteſtants, who have at preſent ſo much of the power in their hands. It is indeed unfortunate for him that he could not have addreſſed a ſeparate Pamphlet to each party, without the danger of its being betrayed to the other. He might then have explained to the Catholics, what this ſecret *opening* is, which "*may admit them to additional privileges*," without alarming the apprehenſions of the zealous Proteſtant; and he might have left the latter ſecure under the conviction "*that the teſt laws cannot be partially repealed*; and that "*the Catholics could not force their claims with hoſtility againſt the whole power of Great Britain and Ireland.*" As it is, the Catholics can have as little hope from this unexplained *opening*, as I believe they derive conſolation from the Secretary's *arithmetical* comfort. "You are now as three to one, and therefore "you have reaſon to expect equal rights; you will "then be, but as three to fourteen, and it would "be very unfair in you, and againſt every prin- "ciple in Cocker's Arithmetic, to aſk to be on "an equal footing." The Proteſtants indeed have

have ſome ſecurity in Mr. Pitt's immoveable reſolution againſt repealing the teſt laws, which could be attended with *no danger*; while perhaps the interference of the Engliſh Cabinet a few years back on the Catholic ſubject, may raiſe ſome troubleſome ſuſpicions.

The fact is, Mr. Pitt will be governed by what he conceives his intereſt; and according as that great leading object, that "*Ireland may not grow too powerful to be governed,*" ſhall be affected, ſo will the claims or the prejudices of Catholics and Proteſtants be yielded to or indulged.

But which ever follows, whether the Catholics are gratified, or not—the effect will be the ſame—bitter and laſting animoſity. Are they refuſed becauſe "*the teſt acts cannot be partially repealed,*" or on the principle of *arithmetical juſtice?* To the intolerance of Iriſh Proteſtants will they attribute it. Are all diſabilities removed? to the policy of the Britiſh miniſter, and the generoſity of a Britiſh Parliament, will they conſider themſelves indebted, while the Iriſh Proteſtants will feel themſelves made the ſport of miniſterial convenience, and will complain of the breach of that *grand condition*, on which they ſurrendered their independence. In either caſe the Machiyaelian policy will be purſued, of preventing Ireland "*becoming too powerful to be governed,*

verned,"—but "*religious diſcontents, jealouſies and diſturbances, conſpiracies, inſurrections and perhaps* REBELLIONS," will ſtill diſgrace us.

But let our conſtitution remain as it is. Let a Proteſtant Iriſh Parliament make one great effort of patriotiſm—let it bury in oblivion the errors and vices of our poor miſguided countrymen, wiſely and humanely conſidering that many of thoſe errors and vices are the weeds, that muſt ſpring from an impoveriſhed ſoil—or if this be too great a ſacrifice to expect on the ſudden from human prejudices; let the Catholics patiently await the operations of time, and the workings of generoſity in *Iriſh* boſoms—let them publicly declare, that to an *Iriſh Parliament only* will they be indebted for their full and complete advancement to the privileges and honours of the conſtitution; and then indeed, in either event, whether of peaceable and patient acquieſcence, or of liberal and voluntary conceſſion, we ſhall become "*too powerful,*" not "*to be governed*" but to be *ſeduced,* to be *corrupted,* to be *enſlaved.*—Then indeed, will all ranks and all ſects give the ſame hearty and zealous ſupport to the Britiſh Empire, which it has ever received from the Iriſh Parliament; and then will our encreaſed wealth, the ſure conſequence of genuine *unforced* tranquillity—enable *Iriſh generoſity* to contribute largely and freely to the relief of the Empire from its heavy burthens.

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The wretched politicians, who have inculcated in the minister and Parliament of Great Britain, that prosperity may make "*Ireland too powerful to be governed*," are totally unsupported in their slavish and timid doctrine by all experience, and by every principle of common sense. Can a single instance be adduced, wherein the Parliament of this country, or any great body of men of any *power*, or any single individual of *power*, betrayed the slightest symptom of dissatisfaction at that imperial connexion with England, from whence springs the governing power—except the regency, an instance, it is hoped, sufficiently explained, no such thing ever occurred, and it would be most easy and most satisfactory to this kingdom, to adopt such regulations, as would set at rest every imperial question, that can suggest itself as likely to occur, to the most jealous or the most speculative politician. Peace and war, an imperial concern, the choice of which, theory gives to the crown, but practice to the Parliament, by their power of granting or withholding the supplies; let all *theoretical possibility* of Irish interference on this important general question, affecting the whole Empire, be for ever removed; let it be enacted, that when the king shall have declared war, and the British Parliament shall have given its sanction, the Irish Parliament shall be bound to follow. Let *all questions of trade*, be finally and irrevocably settled, upon fair and reciprocal

terms,

terms, such indeed as most of them already stand upon. Let the religion of the state, if that shall also be deemed expedient, be placed upon a sure foundation, not to be altered or affected, but by the concurrence of the two Parliaments---and to go a step farther, and to accomplish what, perhaps, is the minister's grand object in the Union, let Ireland, in proportion as her rapidly encreasing prosperity shall afford the means, contribute to the lessening that enormous load of debt, which England has contracted chiefly in her miraculous struggles for the support of that proud pre-eminence, which secures to every part of the Empire its constitution, its laws, and liberties. Indeed it has long since occurred to the author, that from the moment Ireland experienced fair and liberal treatment from Great Britain, was restored to a free constitution, and was admitted to a full participation of her commerce, she should contribute her full proportion to the general expences of the Empire; hitherto she has been unable to do more than maintain her own establishment, which has alone produced a large debt; nor could an infancy of fifteen or sixteen years be expected to do more. But Ireland is advancing with rapid strides to a vigorous manhood; a few years of peace would, in all probability, enable her to make great contributions, and it would, in fact, be as sound policy in her, as fair and generous dealing, to assist in lessening the debt of England. Suppose that a moderate

general land tax, accompanied with a modification of tythes, and of the exciſe and cuſtoms, were eſtabliſhed over the whole Empire, and the ſurplus, after the payment of the preſent charges, were applied to the diſcharge of the public debt of England and Ireland, which might be conſolidated for the purpoſe. Mr. Adam Smith, in recommending this meaſure, including in it the Weſt India iſlands, and alſo including America, which muſt now be omitted, calculates that a revenue of ſix millions two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds might be raiſed, and ſince the date of his book, 1775, a prodigious increaſe of wealth and ability has taken place in the two kingdoms; however, making allowance for the deduction of America, and for the heavy taxes of other kinds, laid on ſince, ſuch a revenue might be raiſed, as would, in a few years greatly diminiſh the public debt, and ſoon admit of a reduction of ſome of the moſt oppreſſive taxes, thoſe that chiefly affect the poor, and the materials of manufactures.

This generous contribution, in the mode propoſed, would have another good conſequence—it would operate as a tax on abſentees, a juſt ſubject of popular complaint, without raiſing any jealouſy in England; and this mode of diminiſhing the ill effects of abſentees, upon the *temper*, if not upon the *intereſts* of Ireland, may to an ordinary underſtanding appear as efficacious

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as the miniſterial writers propoſal of *doubling their number*.

The advocates for a Union may cry out, all this will be done by a Union, it will be a neceſſary conſequence of it and therefore in admitting the expediency of ſuch a meaſure, you in fact argue for a Union, one of whoſe chief objects it is, to make Ireland pay a *full proportion* of our public debts. But the *proportion* (admitting we ſhould pay any thing,) is the great object, and to ſubmit this to a Britiſh Parliament, where Iriſh members would be at moſt but as one to five, would argue great confidence in Britiſh generoſity, but very little of ſound political wiſdom.

Neither would it be more prudent to entruſt the final ſettlement of ſo important a matter to commiſſioners, in which we might be on an equal footing, as to numbers, with England, for reaſons ſufficiently obvious from the preponderating influence of the Engliſh Miniſter.

The analogies employed to juſtify this meaſure, and the recurrence to the caſes of America, of Scotland, and above all the obſcure and miſty period of the Heptarchy, would ſcarcely deſerve an anſwer, but that the *authority* from which the publication in queſtion proceeds, and the *weight* given to every thing ſtamped with

that authority, requires that no argument however flimsy in itself should pass unnoticed. However as to the Heptarchy, it is only necessary to state the constitution of that Union, to shew how totally inapplicable it is to ours. SEVEN *separate and distinct kingdoms*, where, "though "one Prince seems still to have been allowed, "or to have assumed an ascendant over the "whole, his authority if it ought ever to be "deemed regular or legal, was extremely li-"mitted; and each state *acted as if it had been* "*independant and wholly separate from the* "*rest.*"* What was the condition of America, before its present confederation? *Thirteen independent Provinces*, bound by *no one common tie*, but an alliance or treaty offensive and defensive, the regulations of which were submitted to a congress, whose members, vested with most of the powers possessed by our sovereign, and having no controuling or influencing authority over them, might naturally be expected (as they actually did) frequently to differ on the most essential points. Can this constitution or this connection be compared with ours, wherein our common sovereign possesses that sole undivided power, which was here distributed among thirteen independent States? Can the mischiefs resulting from that form, not indeed of connection, but of *alliance*, justify any apprehensions of similar

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. 1. p. 27.

similar mischiefs from our *close connexion*, so different in theory, and in practice affording no instance (for the not to be argued upon,) of disagreement, during the lapse of many centuries.

But Scotland is so invariably and so confidently resorted to as a case of strong analogy, that it is necessary at greater length to shew from its situation, natural and political, at the time of the Union, and from its history since, that no argument whatsoever arises from it, applicable to Ireland, at least none favourable to Union.

Nature had already made England and Scotland one country, and their political circumstances rendered it necessary to the repose and safety to the laws and the liberties of England, to accomplish her fiat. Their *laws* were different—their *religions*, as well of the state, as of the people, were different—their *crowns*, accidentally placed on the head of the same monarch, were, upon her demise to be again separated. If different views of policy should be entertained by these two *independent* nations, in their domestic concerns, and in their foreign alliances, future wars must again, as they had formerly for so many centuries, deluge them both with blood. Now the most opposite views of policy were in fact entertained by them, not merely by the mob, (as is supposed to be the case) here, but by the gentry, the men of property, the *Parliaments* of the

the two kingdoms. The Houſe of Stewart, ſo odious to Great Britain, had ſtill retained the warmeſt affection of the Scots—and the Parliament of Scotland had lately paſſed the act of ſecurity, by the extraordinary majority of ſeventy, in ſpite of all the influence of the crown: and the royal aſſent was even extorted to a law, which on the death of the Queen, then without hope of iſſue, went to ſeparate the two crowns, and of courſe the two kingdoms for ever.* What muſt have been the temper of the Scots, when a Britiſh miniſtry were compelled to aſſent to an act of ſeparation! Nor were they mere motives of natural diſlike to England which affected the Scots—they had always been attached to the French, with whom their monarchs had been allied, and who gave them ready aſſiſtance upon every breach with England—and perſonal motives of ambition likewiſe operated upon individuals, particularly the Duke of Hamilton, nearly allied to the Houſe of Stewart, and having himſelf, as is juſtly ſuſpected, deſigns upon the throne.†

To the ſafety of England then it became indiſpenſably neceſſary, to put an end to the Scottiſh Parliament, as the only poſſible means of averting

* Such were not indeed the expreſs limitations, but the conſequences were ſo conſidered. Macpherſon's Hiſt. of Great Britain, 2 vol. 306.

† Macpherſon's Hiſt.

averting the evil of ſeparation. Now will any experience, will any ſuſpicions, will any theory, however wild juſtify us in ſaying there is a danger of our ſeparation from England?—at leaſt from any circumſtances which an Union would remove—it is not at leaſt from any diſpoſitions manifeſted by the gentry, by the property, by the Parliament of Ireland—if any ſuch tendency prevail, it is among the lower claſſes of the people, corrupted by the empirics of the French School, whoſe poiſon can be beſt and perhaps only counteracted by a reſident gentry and *a reſident Parliament*, who are unalterably, and without an exception, from the moſt unequivocal motives of ſelf intereſt, if there were nothing elſe to operate, bound to maintain the connexion to the laſt extremity.

Nor was the Union leſs advantageous to Scotlnnd, than neceſſary to England, if their paſſions had permitted the Scotch to advert to the moſt obvious principles. Their country was in that wretched ſtate as to agriculture, manufactures and commerce, to which the harſh decrees of nature ſeem to have doomed it. The ſevere but perhaps neceſſary policy of England had juſt cloſed the barriers againſt the only article of export afforded by her cold ungrateful ſoil,* and had

* Live cattle! no other proof of her poverty, than the nature of her only commodity capable of excluſion from England, would perhaps be neceſſary.

had even gone so far as to deny to the Scots the privileges of English subjects.

The work of a very intelligent Scotch writer affords us a curious and accurate view of the relative wealth of England and Scotland at the period of the Union, from whence we may judge of the poverty of the latter, and of the analogy between it at that period, and Ireland now.*

English Customs	£1,341,559
Scotch do.	34,000
English Post-office	101,000
Scotch do.	1,194
Coinage	8,400,000
Scotch do.	411,118
Excise	947,602
Scotch do.	33,500

So that considering, with Mr. Chalmers—customs to be the criterion of trade—excise of consumption—and according to general opinion—the Post-office to be the standard of internal communication, the result of peace and civilization, and coin of internal trade. Their relative

* Chalmers's Comparative Estimate. Lond. Ed. 1794, page 225.

lative ſituations in theſe four particulars will be nearly thus:

English to Scotch	
Trade — Trade, nearly as	36 to 1
Conſumption	28 to 1
Communication	100 to 1
Internal trade	20 to 1

The laſt item ſeems to be the leaſt unfavourable to Scotland, but coin was then a fallacious ſtandard. Bank paper diminiſhed the quantity of coin circulated in England—but Scotland had no bank—however, let a balance be ſtruck upon three of thoſe items, as they ſtand, in order to form an eſtimate of the general ability of Scotland at the time of the Union; namely upon external, and internal trade, and conſumption—and it will be England to Scotland as, *twenty-eight* to *one*. Mr. Pitt, in his ſpeech on finance this ſeſſion, calculates the preſent ratio of ability to be as eight to one. Moſt convincing and unanſwerable proof of the then deplorable poverty of Scotland.

Now ſhe could not hope in centuries to riſe to any degree of opulence, or even of comfort, unaſſiſted and alone—her climate harſh and nipping—her ſoil ſtubborn and ungrateful—the face of the country chiefly mountain or moraſs;

no foreign treaties which could enable her to supply her deficiencies; excluded from the English colonies, her ships captured by the English; even the English market denied to her only superfluity, her lean half ſtarved cattle;—what poſſible reſource had ſhe but in Engliſh Union? for having no other equivalent to offer, on what other terms would ſhe be admitted to a participation of Engliſh trade.

To enter into a minute detail of the condition of Ireland, in order to ſhew how totally different it is from that of Scotland at the time of the Union, would be a vain parade of information or induſtry; but it may not be wholly unintereſting to detail a few particulars.

Not having leiſure to reſort to official authority, the author cannot give the preſent condition of our trade, and is obliged to reſort to a period very unfavourable to him—the period of 1783, the cloſe of the American war, and before the commencement of our proſperity, conſequent upon the opening our trade. The facts are taken from Lord Sheffield's "Obſervations on the Trade and preſent State of Ireland." Our exports to *England alone*, upon a five years average, ending with 1783, amounted in value to 2,301,444. † Our imports from England on the

* Macpherſon's Hiſtory. † Lord Sheffield's Obſervations, &c. Lond. Ed. 785, p. 284.

the ſame average were £.2,050,445. leaving a balance of £.250,999 in favour of Ireland.

The whole exports of Scotland, to *all the world*, were at the ſame period, upon a four years average, but £.802,345 *. So that the *exports of Ireland to Great Britain alone, were nearly* THREE TIMES AS GREAT *as thoſe of Scotland to all the world*, "at a period when the cultivation, the improvement of Scotland had been particularly attended to for eighty years," while Ireland, on the contrary, had laboured during all that time, under the moſt harſh and injurious reſtrictions. The progreſs of Ireland ſince would clearly appear from tables of our exports and imports for the laſt years, which it is hoped, ſome perſon with more leiſure and better means of information will give to the public. But the oſtenſible improvements of the country are ſo immenſe, as to leave no doubt of the prodigious increaſe of public wealth. Within that period the *Bank of Ireland* has been eſtabliſhed, while private banking houſes, ſo far from being injured, have increaſed in number; the internal trade of the country (the moſt important to every nation) has been wonderfully facilitated by the extenſion of canals, and the improvement of the roads, while the accommodation of ſhipping has

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* Chalmers's Comparative Eſtimate, 229, a four years average is taken inſtead of five years, as in the caſe of Ireland, becauſe Mr. Chalmers's does not give the exports of 1775.

been advanced by thoſe moſt ſtupendous works, the Docks, and the great ſouth pier. The linen manufacture has been nearly doubled. The corn laws have been further improved, and agriculture greatly extended. Breweries have been erected all over the kingdom, and the importation of Engliſh porter and ale almoſt ſuperſeded by the excellence of the home manufacture; while new manufactures have ſprung up, particularly cotton, paper, and glaſs—of the laſt of which great quantities are exported. In ſhort, Ireland is not merely now in that ſtate of advanced proſperity, to which the Union has been ſuppoſed to raiſe Scotland, but ſhe has already that advantage over her, to which her ſuperior extent, her ſoil and climate entitle her.

As little argument then, can be drawn from the Scotch Union, in a commercial point of view, as in a political one: and it will ſurely require ſomething more than bare aſſertion—ſomething beſides *hypothetical* advantage, before we ſhall relinquiſh that *domeſtic government*, under whoſe foſtering care, in the courſe of fifteen years, our agriculture, our commerce, and our manufactures have ſwelled to an amount, that the moſt ſanguine friends of Ireland would not have dared to prognoſticate.

But, ſee what were the effects of this incorporating Union upon Scotland, for nearly half a century

century. So incensed and inflamed were the Scots at the surrender of their independence, that, although they were immediately admitted to a full participation of British trade, their animosities continued too violent, for upwards of forty years, to allow them to avail themselves of its advantages. In 1715, and 1745, they were roused to open rebellion, not more by their attachment to the family of Stewart, than by their detestation of the Union: and all the writers agree, that it was not till after the year 1746, Scotland began to feel its beneficial effects.

If such a country then, so little favoured by nature, so little cultivated and improved, in a state of almost hopeless poverty, felt so keen a sense of degradation, though immense advantages were opened to her; if the lapse of forty years was scarcely sufficient to restore her to temper: what would be the effect upon this island, rich in the choicest gifts of nature, highly improved and rapidly improving, possessing all that was to Scotland the price of her independence, and to whom no compensation *can be made*, if indeed any thing can compensate an independent constitution?

We are already in possession of every thing that England could grant—our trade to the whole world is as open as that of England, excepting

cepting to the East Indies, which no Union could give us.† The navigation act has been explained, so that colonial produce may be exported from Ireland as freely as from England; in short in no single instance is there the slightest restriction upon our manufactures, or our commerce, to which England herself is not subject—unless it be in the East Indian monopoly, which affects every port in England except London, as much as it affects Ireland; or in the case of our woollen manufacture. As to this latter, the only manufacture which is under any restriction greater than the English one—we may export our woollens to all the world, except to England, whose market is closed against us by high duties. The Secretary does not hint at, much less promise the removal of this restriction, but if he did, the boon would be scarcely worth the acceptance—So great and unconquerable are the advantages of *old establishment*, and the superior skill arising therefrom, aided by enormous capital, that England is able to beat us, not only abroad, but in *our own market*. What hope then that we should meet her in her market, when she undersells us in our own?—The woollen is the great staple of England; established protected and successively improved by the most anxious care of the legislature for many centuries. Of its prodigious importance to England some estimate may be formed from two circumstances—that it is supposed to

† At least during the monopoly of the East India Company. As to this, see Page [illegible] Note.

to employ *a million and a half of people*—and that its exports from Yorkshire alone, amounted in one year to £2,371,942,* an enormous sum—greater it appears than *all* the exports of *all* Ireland, to Great Britain. Is it possible then to imagine, even if the British ports were opened to us, and even if we could rival them in their own markets, that some means would not be devised by a British Parliament, to secure the exclusive possession of a manufacture upon which depend in so eminent a degree—the wealth, the grandeur, and the strength of England. One important fact is notorious, and in such matters, one fact will outweigh a thousand speculations—that, although Scotland has had the English market open to her for near a century—and although she had none of the disadvantages to encounter, that Ireland would have, of freight, insurance, &c. and although she has made great advances in the linen, cambrick, cotton and various other manufactures—*in woollens alone she has never made any progress* †—at least none that enables her to send woollens into England.

Not a single advantage then is held out to us in commerce or manufactures, nor perhaps would it be easy to devise any that could be given. But this great and awful evil to our commerce and our manufactures is the certain and inevitable consequence of an Union. That both will be

* Chalmer's Comp. eſt. 203.

† The author is not positive of this, but he believes it to be true, with the qualification, which is all that is necessary for him.

be at the mercy *for ever*, of a foreign Parliament, where our relative ſtrength will be not more than one to five. Let it not be admitted as an anſwer that *equal laws*, affecting all parts of the Empire, will be the conſequence—this itſelf may be an evil of the greateſt magnitude;—aſk the cotton manufacturer, who is now protected by a ſmall duty on imported cottons—aſk the paper maker, who has a ſimilar protection—what would be the effect of throwing open the ports? and they will ſay, and truly, *the ruin of their manufactures—this would be the inevitable effect of* EQUAL LAWS.

I am no advocate for protecting duties—they are, in general, founded on the moſt erroneous principles—but in our particular ſituation, contending with a ſmall capital and an infant eſtabliſhment—againſt an old eſtabliſhment and enormious capital. It is by protecting duty only, that is, by *unequal* laws only, that we can ever hope to gain that ſtrength, which may at length enable us to place our manufactures on equal terms.—How far we could expect ſuch *partiality* from a Britiſh Parliament, let us judge from experience.—A few years after the Union, a duty was impoſed on malt, equally affecting the Scotch and Engliſh: the Scotch members—lords and commoners—convinced that it would be ruinous to their country, deprecated the law and voted *unanimouſly* againſt it—but the Britiſh Parliament were inexorable, and paſſed the law.

Let

Let us advert to another inſtance nearer home. When the colonial trade was opened to us, England propoſed to grant a bounty on all Iriſh linens, to be exported from England; nothing could, at firſt view, appear more generous. She would not only pay the bounty on ſuch linens, as in the natural courſe of trade would go to England, and be exported from thence; but ſhe propoſed, that we ſhould pay *no* bounty, but that ſhe ſhould charge herſelf with the burthen of the *whole* bounty on Iriſh linens, merely on condition that they ſhould paſs through an Engliſh port; and ſhe ſaid that her only motive was a regard to our poverty, which could not afford ſo heavy a charge. But our ſagacious and patriotic Chancellor of the Exchequer, the preſent Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, was neither to be entrapped nor ſeduced; he ſaw that under the pretence of generous aſſiſtance, we were to be cheated out of the carrying trade of our own linens, which would thus inevitably be transferred to England; he reſolutely inſiſted againſt the meaſure, and he preſerved to us our direct trade. Now when the Britiſh Cabinet at ſuch a moment as that, when it was making conceſſion from motives of policy, and when any ſuſpicion of treachery might be ſo dangerous, ventured to paſs upon the *Iriſh Parliament*, ſo groſs an impoſition; what could we expect in a Britiſh Parliament? Could we hope that *equal* laws, which might have *unequal* effects, ſhould be modelled,

ſo as to give our manufactures a chance of ſurviving—much leſs could we hope, that a *protection* ſhould be given to them, which for, a time at leaſt, *is neceſſary to their exiſtence.*†

Throughout the whole of this miniſterial production arguments are addreſſed to different claſſes of the people, and to different bodies of the community, as if their intereſts were diſtinct, and ſometimes as if they were oppoſite. We have already adverted to this mode of ſpeaking to the Catholic and the Proteſtant, and we truſt ſufficiently expoſed the flimſy, though inſidious policy.

†Previous to the 33d. Geo. 3. the trade of China was open to us. Let America ſpeak its importance, who, beginning with a ſmall ſloop, has now 130 ſhips in the trade. By the 33d. Geo. 3. c. 31. we ſurrendered this trade to the Eaſt India Company, for the wretched equivalent of ſending out annually, 800 tons of goods from Cork.

Aſk the merchants do they avail themſelves of this pittance of export?—no—previous notice on the 1ſt of Auguſt to the Commiſſioners of Revenue; on the 1ſt of September to the Company in London; then to the Secretary in India; muſt be given, of the nature, amount, &c. of the goods;—*the market is foreſtalled*—the goods muſt go in a Company's ſhip,—*the carrying trade is taken away*,—they muſt go to the Company's Agent,—*he will prefer the Company's goods.*

Sir John Hippeſley was candid in admitting this manœuvre to be one ſtrong ground for Lord Hobart's penſion. But I am not uncandid in doubting of fair play hereafter.

policy. In the ſame manner, Dublin, Cork, and Limerick,—the South, the North, and the Weſt, are treated as if they were inſulated bodies, whereas it is impoſſible to propoſe any ſcheme of policy, affecting the welfare of one, which would not affect them all, though perhaps in an unequal degree.

It is, no doubt, the deſign of the author to caſt the odium of ſelfiſh intereſt on thoſe great bodies, who, it is dreaded, will condemn the Union. Dublin, in particular, will be libelled; and, becauſe moſt obvious and glaring injury would be done to it, the citizens and merchants of Dublin will be ſaid, to advert only to partial evils, and to overlook the general effects on the kingdom. But the Secretary is ignorant indeed of the character and the intereſts of Dublin merchants, if he ſo repreſent them. They are not, thoſe petty ſhop-keepers, dependant ſolely on the cuſtom of a large city. They tranſact the chief buſineſs of the linen trade, the great ſtaple manufacture of the kingdom; they direct and govern all the great operations of banking, of inſurance, and of ſtock. Dublin is the key to the greater part of Ireland, and from the extenſion of the canals, muſt ever continue ſo. Are great advantages derived from foreign commerce? Dublin muſt reap them chiefly, becauſe through Dublin muſt the principal part of the kingdom be ſupplied with foreign produce;

are

are our manufactures, our agriculture, our inland trade extended? Dublin will moſt feel it, becauſe Dublin is beſt ſituated for the reception of the overplus, which will be poured from her into foreign kingdoms. Let not then the Limerick, the Cork, the Waterford, or the Belfaſt merchant be told that the Dublin merchant is actuated by ſelfiſh jealouſy, of their reaping ſuperior commercial benefits. Such will not be the fact. Let Weſt India trade encreaſe it may, Dublin muſt have her due proportion, becauſe through Dublin muſt the chief part of the kingdom receive the produce of that trade.

Neither is it poſſible that Dublin ſhould ſuffer an injury, which muſt not be ſenſibly felt in every corner of the kingdom.

The increaſe of abſentees is lightly paſſed over by this author, and it is mentioned as only affecting the Capital; no doubt, it will affect the Capital moſt grievouſly, but it will alſo affect the country, as a very brief conſideration muſt convince every man. It is not in the Capital only that our nobility and men of fortune ſpend their incomes, it is in the country, on their eſtates, that they make the principal and the moſt uſeful expenditures—now, that they will viſit thoſe eſtates ſeldom, and in a ſhort time perhaps not at all, muſt be very obvious to any one, that conſiders the various temptations and inducements, that will

will operate to a perpetual reſidence in England. To be near the court and the miniſter, at all times, to watch all opportunities—the allurements of pleaſure—the inconveniencies and expence of long journies twice a year, and of ſeparate eſtabliſhments in different kingdoms,—on all theſe accounts they muſt become perpetual abſentees. Experience, that never-failing guide, ſhews us how few of thoſe, once ſettled in England, ever viſit Ireland. The loſs to Dublin indeed muſt be immenſe, and perhaps the following ſtatement may appear not an exaggerated one.

It muſt be allowed, that all the peers returned into Parliament, as well as all the commoners would reſide in London during the winter, and of courſe forſake Dublin—the number of peers, it is ſuppoſed, would be about 25, and as they will probably be men of the firſt fortune, they may fairly be averaged at 5000l. per annum: that the reſt of the nobility will follow their example, there is not a doubt. It is ſo in Edinburgh, ſcarcely a ſingle lord has a houſe there. The reſident peers of Ireland are about ninety, having twenty at home, (perhaps too large an allowance,) and deducting 25, there would be 45 more abſentees, who cannot be calculated at leſs than an average of 3000l. per annum. Eighty members of the Houſe of Commons may ſurely be averaged at 2,500l. per annum, and to theſe may be fairly added 100 gentlemen of faſhion or fortune

tune, who would desert Dublin, when it no longer attracted by interest or pleasure; and they may be averaged at 1,500l. per annum.

25 Representative Peers at	5000l.	125,000l.
45 Other Peers, - -	3000l.	135,000l.
80 Members of the House of Commons, - -	2,500l.	200,000l.
100 Other Gentlemen,	1,500l.	150,000l.
		610,000l.

Should this calculation be esteemed too high, the overplus may be set against the large sums to be expended in appeals, soliciting acts of Parliament, and various other matters of business, which must then be transacted in London. See the effect of this on Dublin alone: *two hundred and fifty*, at least of the best houses, thrown on hands would alone so overstock the market, as to annihilate the *building-trade*. But not these houses alone would be on hands, but the great majority too of those of the working classes—coach-makers, cabinet-makers, woollen-drapers, haberdashers, in short, all mechanics and shop-keepers who live by the consumption of people of fortune, must be ruined, and Dublin must be a desert.

This 600,000l. is an annual Capital, which constantly puts into motion innumerable other Capitals,

Capitals, the ſum total of which it is impoſſible to calculate: the coach-maker, for inſtance, employed by the nobleman, himſelf employs the baker, the brewer, the grocer, the taylor, and they in return employ each other and thouſands of others, ſo that the expenditure of a ſingle income conſtitutes a part of the capital of thouſands of individuals.

Here then, merely in this ſingle view of the commercial part of the ſubject, ſhall we ſurrender an *annual* productive capital of 600,000l. equal to *twelve millions* ſterling,† which ſets in motion other capitals without end, for diſtant obſcure, theoretical, and probably illuſive gain?

But we are to exchange our idle gentry, for induſtrious manufacturers and merchants! It is a moſt curious ground indeed, upon which we are taught to expect this—hear the gentlemans' own words, "from the circumſtance of the canals, which are making in every part of England, and communicating with London, its i.e. Dublin's, demand for all *Engliſh goods*, with Liverpool will greatly increaſe; and in proportion, as canals from Dublin are carried to different parts of the kingdom, it will be the depôt for their conſumption in all articles of *Britiſh* manufacture and import."

Surely

† 600,000l. annual income—equal to twelve millions permamet capital.

Surely it argues a moſt contemptuous opinion of our underſtandings, to put this forward as a ſerious argument. The manufacturers reimburſed for their loſſes by ſhantees, by the commerce for *engliſh goods Encreaſing!* But ſuppoſing it to be an advantage, which I own I am not quick ſighted enough to diſcover, is it the *Union* which is to complete thoſe canals in England, or to extend our canals in Ireland? this promiſed benefit (be it one or not) appears to me the reſult of circumſtances totally independant of the Union.

Dublin however is not to be injured, becauſe Edinburgh is now a much greater town, than at the time of the Scottiſh Union. What Scotland was, and how ſhe has encreaſed ſince, have already ſufficiently appeared, and no doubt the capital of a flouriſhing country muſt be ſuperior to that of a country in a ſtate of the moſt abject miſery.—What Edinburgh was then, we are not told, but it muſt have been a poor and wretched town. The old town is of but ſmall dimenſions, little more than a ſingle ſtreet with blind alleys iſſuing from it—and I myſelf have ſeen the houſe which thirty or forty years ago, when the Union *was half a century old*, was the beſt inn in Scotland—a mean and wretched hovel, that would diſgrace the remoteſt corner of Ireland. To compare Edinburgh then at the time of the Union with

Dublin

Dublin, now is monstrous and absurd—at this moment, without the boasted effects of the Union, it is not comparable to Dublin, in extent, population, public buildings, trade, or wealth—indeed in every thing but architecture it is inferior to Cork our second city.—Besides, experience shews us a remarkable difference in national character, operating much against Ireland in calculations upon the Union—scarcely an instance occurs, of the wealth or influence, obtained by Irishmen in England, producing advantage to Ireland; they seem ashamed of the name, and eager to divest themselves of all pretensions to it—The Scotch nationality is notorious—a Scotchman will promote none, will employ none, will buy from none but a Scotchman—his influence promotes his countrymen, and his money acquired where it may be, and after absence ever so long, finally centers in his own country—so that a Scotch absentee, is only a political or commercial speculator, who will in the end enrich and adorn his native country.—Can there be adduced five instances of men of rank in Scotland, however powerful and extended their English connexions, whose chief residence or least temporary residence and most useful expenditure is not in Scotland? Even Mr. Dundas himself, a great English minister, who can never expect to reside out of England—had expended immense sums on a house

in Scotland, without hopes of inhabiting it. This is no reflection on the Scotch, it is highly honourable to them.—Is it the caſe in Ireland? let the eſtates of the abſentees give an anſwer.

To the ſouthern cities, the author promiſes great advantages. What they are no man can conjecture.—their admirable ſituation for commerce is the gift of providence, not of an Union.—and all opportunities of availing themſelves of it, they have already in as ample a degree as England.—*no reſtriction whatever exiſts with regard to them, ſeverer than with reſpect to England.* And ſuperior advantages over England they cannot expect.—if England or the Empire *want* an additional Dock Yard, and if Cork be the fitteſt place, general policy ſhould adopt it, if it be not wanting, policy ſhould refuſe it.—it is to be hoped the carrying, or the failing in, the meaſure of a Union, will not affect the principles of general and imperial policy.

The ſame inſidious artifice, which conſiders as ſeparate, the intereſts of Catholic and Proteſtant, of the capital and of the reſt of the kingdom, affects to repreſent the bar as an intereſted "Phalanx" of political "adventurers," who look to Parliament as the "market for their abilities." The author of theſe pages, himſelf a member of that honourable profeſſion, feels no *individual* reſentment at calumnies which apply not to himſelf.

ſelf. But as a member of the profeſſion, and as an Iriſhman, he ſpurns at the inſinuation, and denies the baſe and ſelfiſh motives. That there are profligate characters at the Iriſh bar, who make Parliament the ladder of their ambition: that there are corrupt men (he will not ſay Secretaries) who encourage, promote, and pandar for the proſtitution, is the ſcandal of the profeſſion. But that the motive of the loſs of *Parliamentary rank* actuates the profeſſion in their oppoſition to the ſurrender of our legiſlature, is a calumny, which the public will not believe, and to which the actions of the bar, *as a body*, and their hiſtory for many years, give the moſt direct contradiction. Are Judges ſelected not from the rank majority of Parliament, but from the moſt able, the moſt learned, the moſt virtuous lawyers in the hall? Is the office of Solicitor General offered as a tribute to profeſſional merit, and on its refuſal the honourable diſtinction of precedence voluntarily conferred? Are the ſtations of Maſters in Chancery, Chairmen of counties, &c. filled with a total diſregard to Parliamentary intereſt? Who ſo loud, ſo unanimous, and ſo grateful in their praiſe as this calumniated profeſſion?

The "Parliamentary traffic," the profeſſion deplores a diſgrace to themſelves and to the par-

liament, but they will not ſacrifice the life of the patient to a partial diſeaſe, nor will they admit the advantage to the community, of excluding all *Iriſh lawyers* from ſeats in the legiſlature. The names and the ſervices of Burgh and of Yelverton are ſtill freſh in the memories of Iriſhmen, and the Parliament ſhall ſtill be kept open for the exerciſe of the moſt diſtinguiſhed talents in that profeſſion, which concentrates the abilities and the knowledge of Ireland.

But who is this perſon that inſinuates, that "the laws are not accurately or deeply ſtudied?" —or who has authoriſed him, to ſay, that we require "abler judges?" has he appreciated, or is he capable of appreciating, the profeſſional merit of a Saurin, a Duquery, a Plunket or a Fox? Or does he know, or has he never heard of, the the manner in which our benches are now filled? He might perhaps have been told of the ſwift diſpatch, the accurate inveſtigation, and the juſt decrees of an Iriſh chancellor taken from that very Houſe of Commons which he reprobates—and if he enquired, he might find that our benches, not only in extraordinary talent, and maſculine ſenſe, but in profound knowledge of the law, would challenge a compariſon with England at its proudeſt day.

The miniſterial author, in truth, too well knew the good ſenſe of that learned body, to doubt

doubt the ſentence they would paſs on this revolutionary meaſure—and he dreaded the effect of their authority upon the nation at large, he therefore wiſhed to deſtroy that effect, by vilifying their character, and more than inſinuating the baſeſt motives. But the nation knows too well its obligations to them, on the moſt trying occaſions, to join in the vulgar abuſe of mercenary men. It has not yet been forgotten the ſervices of the Lawyers, in 1782, neither has it forgotten, and it is too ſoon for the CASTLE to forget, the *authors of the Yeomanry Inſtitution.* Lord Camden, and Mr. Pelham, can bear witneſs that it was the *Bar of Ireland*, which ſuggeſted, matured, and by its example confirmed, and ſanctioned to the country the plan of the armed yeomanry—and thoſe diſtinguiſhed men (for the buſineſs was not tranſacted in the office of an under Secretary) will alſo bear witneſs to the genuine patriotiſm, equally untainted by corrupt or factious motives, which governed the conduct of the bar, in that momentous negociation.

But the bar have ſpoken; and the public know the characters of the leaders of the bar on this moſt important ſubject. They know that Mr. Saurin is above all ſuſpicion of mercenary or ambitious views—already at the head of his profeſſion, in emolument, in character and general eſteem—what has he to look for or what has

has he to fear? Parliament he has repeatedly and unequivocally refuſed to enter—the higheſt offices of the law he has declined, though earneſtly preſſed upon him, by a Lord Lieutenant whom he reſpected, and though called to them by the unanimous ſuffrages of his brethren. Nor is this conduct dictated by any faſtidious humility, but by the juſteſt eſtimate of human life, by a due appreciation of the bleſſings of ſocial and domeſtic comfort, and an abhorrence of the turbulence, the factions and the corruptions of politics. The accompliſhed virtuous and independent ſeconder is equally above ſuſpicion—poſſeſſed of an ample fortune, and without any demands that could render the ſacrifice imprudent, the door of parliament has ſtood open to him; but on grounds equally honourable he has declined to enter. Such were the mover and the ſeconder—and indeed it well became a Saurin and a Spencer, who, in the ſame place, had rouſed the patriotiſm of the bar, to arm in defence of their country—to take the lead on a queſtion, affecting the conſtitution of the kingdom, its peace, and perhaps its connexion with Great Britain. They were followed and ſupported by an immenſe majority,* not merely of numbers, but of the talents, the learning, and the profeſſional eminence of the bar.

In

* 164 to 32.

In truth the bar know very well that their individual intereſt is as little likely to be injured, as that of any claſs in the community.—The ſame offices which they already fill, as the Secretary obſerves, will ſtill be open to them—and they have little doubt that, in any plan of Union to be propoſed, thoſe offices will be excluſively reſerved to the Iriſh bar, after the manner obſerved on the Scotch Union—and there are even additional places held out to their avarice and ambition.*

But let the conduct of the bar ſpeak for itſelf, and let the meaſure they have adopted ſay, whether it has been dictated by angry diſappointed ambition, or by cool deliberate and patriotic wiſdom. It condemns not the principle of incorporating the Parliaments, it preſumes not, without due diſcuſſion, to ſanction or to condemn the important revolution. It merely affirms it to be, what ſurely no ſophiſtry can deny, an *innovation*, and demands a calm and tranquil moment for its fair and diſpaſſionate diſcuſſion. Is this the conduct of a corrupt faction? or, is it not the advice that would be expected from a grave and ſober profeſſion?

May

* Particularly the place of Maſter of the Rolls, which the Chancellor's attendance on the Britiſh Parliament will render neceſſary.

May their interference ſave their country for the *third time.*† And may poſterity be allowed to ſay of the *bar of Ireland,*

"Cunctando reſtituit rem."

Such are the obſervations that have ſuggeſted themſelves to my mind on a Union, and on its effects upon *Ireland,* ſuppoſing it to be quietly carried. Some moſt reſpectable men think it premature to paſs any opinion on the ſubject, or indeed to diſcuſs it, until its *terms* ſhall be known—while others, equally reſpectable, profeſs their inability to judge of it, *in the abſtract,* ſeparate from its plan, conditions, and limitations. To each claſs of objections it is an anſwer, that theſe obſervations are made upon a plan, not indeed much detailed, but preſenting a ſufficiently diſtinct outline—and that beſides, in the author's humble opinion, *any incorporated* Union with Britain, which muſt ſubſtitute for a domeſtic Parliament, the Parliament of another country, in which Ireland could have but a ſmall proportionate influence, appears to him pregnant with all the difficulties, dangers, and diſadvantages already mentioned.

Differences of opinion alſo exiſt among very learned and able men, whether an incorporated Union ſhould be termed a *revolution,* a change of

† Is it neceſſary to refer to the time of the Volunteers, to make the author's meaning explicit?

of conſtitution or according to a new coined phraſe, a "*new mode of adminiſtring the conſtitution*"—to the plain underſtanding of the author, theſe nice diſtinctions appear to partake more of metaphyſical ſubtlety than of good ſenſe; and in his humble judgment it can have little effect upon the merits of the propoſed innovation, by what name it is termed—but under the ſanction of the great men who placed King William on the throne, and who found themſelves under no neceſſity of recurring to ſcholaſtic refinement, but plainly and honeſtly called the ſubſtitution of a new family in the room of the reigning one, *a revolution*, I have called and ſhall ſtill take the liberty of calling the ſubſtitution of another Parliament in the room of the exſting one, a revolution.

This word indeed may not be without its uſe; it may ſuggeſt to us, the expediency of imitating the cautious prudence of our anceſtors; who did not in a hurry, and before they had duly weighed their condition, and fully aſcertained the *ſources of their* grievances, and received the unequivocal and nearly unanimous ſanction of the people, venture to apply a remedy. For many years had the people ſubmitted to the ſevereſt tyranny, and the fact was ſettled beyond diſpute, that it was from the principles of the reigning monarch, principles *inveterate* and *unchangeable*, that all their grievances aroſe.

In this opinion the people concurred with the Parliament, or rather the convention, who depoſed King James and ſubſtituted our great deliverer in his ſtead.

Now is the Parliament of Ireland prepared to ſeal its own condemnation? is it ready to ſay that the grievances of the nation are ſo heavy, as to be irremediable but by *revolution?* above all is it willing to admit that from the *Parliament itſelf* are all the misfortunes of the country to be deduced? and will it venture to ſign its own death warrant, without ſuch a reſpite, as may enable the people to appreciate its crimes and its virtues?

But the Parliament itſelf, (and its opinion is ſanctioned by the King) has declared what is the cauſe of our dangers and our troubles. A conſpiracy of republicans, working upon the errors, the vices, and the prejudices of a poor and uninſtructed people. They have not ſaid, as ſome miſtaken men do, that it is the animoſity between Catholic and Proteſtant, which produced that curſed conſpiracy and rebellion. Their volume is before the public—the evidence of the conſpirators themſelves is detailed at length—and the concluſion of the Parliament is logical and juſt—it was a conſpiracy, formed by men "who would as ſoon have ſeen Mahometaniſm eſtabliſhed

eſtabliſhed in Ireland, as the Catholic religion,"* and who knew that the bulk of "the Catholics were totally indifferent about Reform and Catholic Emancipation."†

No doubt the religious prejudices of the People, chiefly Catholic, were operated upon—but had they been Proteſtant or Preſbyterian, they would have been equally an object with the conſpirators, and an equal though a different inſtrument in their hands.

However, be the rebellion what it might, or let it have ſprung from whatever cauſes—the Parliament of Ireland have ſhewn themſelves fully adequate to its ſuppreſſion, and ſurely if the inveſtigation of its latent cauſes, and of the public diſſenſions, in which they have uſed ſuch laudable diligence, ſhall have ſatisfied them of the real nature of the diſeaſe, they will not want the reſolution and virtue neceſſary to apply a remedy—if it be indeed the withholding from, or the granting to the Catholic full or further privileges—they will have *power* enough to reſiſt, or *patriotiſm* enough to *concede*, and they will not, by referring the option to another legiſlature, condemn themſelves of weakneſs or of vice.

* Report of the Secret Committee. † Ibid.

But ſhould they be thus regardleſs of their own character, let them pauſe a moment, and conſider the ſacred truſt with which they are inveſted; that they are going to transfer, not their own inheritance only, but that of their children and of their poſterity *for ever*; and let them aſk themſelves, whether when they were appointed *legiſlators* by the people or by the king, they were indowed with a power of creating *other legiſlators* in ſubſtitution of themſelves. Good and learned men may well be juſtified in affirming that they have no ſuch right, without the previous aſſent of the people, and it will be prudent indeed, if not neceſſary, to aſcertain that aſſent by the moſt unequivocal and unſuſpicious criterion.

And at what a moment would the people be called on to appreciate the merit of the revolution? Terrified loyaliſts, rebels, ſome repentant, ſome malignant, ſome aſtounded, reformiſts, conſtitutionaliſts, arguing upon facts, ſo capable of various conſtructions, and perhaps incapable *now*, of being ſoundly underſtood. Many of the moſt valuable members of large diſtricts,* emigrants, and thoſe who remain, too anxious in the preſervation of their ſtill threatened lives, and the remnant of their ſtill precarious property, to liſten to, much leſs to diſcuſs, a queſtion of deep

* Counties of Wexford, Wicklow Carlow, Kildare, &c.

deep ſpeculation. The monſtrous and inhuman doctrine has been broached, that advantage ſhould be taken of the paſſions that agitate and diſtract the minds of men, that neceſſarily agitate and diſtract them at the cloſe of a widely extended rebellion—that the intolerance of the orange man, the reſentment of the excluded catholic, the humiliation of the rebel ſeduced or repentant, the terror of the loyaliſt, and the deſpairing apathy of the reformiſt, afford an opportunity not to be loſt, of effecting a revolution whoſe merits they cannot weigh, to whoſe conſequences they are indifferent, or whoſe miſchiefs they may anticipate with malignant triumph.—Nay, the catholic has been libelled, as expreſſing the barbarous ſatisfaction, of reducing the proteſtant to his own ſtate of political nullity.

Let the miniſter, or at leaſt, let the Parliament beware of adopting a policy ſo cruel and ſo unnatural. Should they ſucceed, a few years of reflection muſt awaken all ranks from their dreams of revenge, of terror, or of apathy—and when they ſhall awake, how bitter muſt be the mutual recriminations, and how inſatiable muſt be the thirſt of vengeance!

The paſſions of Hell will tear their boſoms. Or ſhould they turn from each other on their common tempter, the conſequence is too dreadful to be contemplated, without ſhuddering for the

the ſafety of the *connexion*, and *the exiſtence of Britain herſelf.*

Before the author takes leave of the public, he thinks it neceſſary to addreſs a word to Great Britain. Let no ſuſpicion light upon the motives of that generous aſſiſtance afforded to us—let not the enemies of the connexion avail themſelves of the plauſible argument, that ſomething elſe than protection was intended in filling Ireland with Britiſh troops—let the motives of our Lord Lieutenant, in adopting that line of conduct, which, however it has been applauded by moderate men, and by none more ſincerely than the writer of theſe pages, yet has certainly, and perhaps unavoidably, produced partial diſcontent—let his motives, I ſay, be clear, as his character has ever been, from the taint of artifice. But above all, let Britain be aſſured, that the death of our liberty would but ſhortly precede the extinction of her own.

This is an important conſideration, which muſt arreſt the notice of every Engliſhman.

It muſt appear certain, almoſt as mathematical induction, that the incorporation of the Parliaments, will inevitably add an *enormous weight of Influence* to the crown, ſufficient indeed to OVERTURN the balance of the three Eſtates.

what

What has the Scotch Union done? are not the ſixteen peers generally conſidered to be nominated by the miniſter? and are the forty five commoners ever found in a minority? Nor is it intended to caſt any vulgar abuſe upon them; perhaps they may be actuated by the pureſt patriotiſm, for, conſidering the ſmall proportion they bear to Engliſh members, and of courſe the ſmall relative weight of Scotland, perhaps it is only by ſupporting the miniſter, they could hope to obtain any benefit for their country.

Now the patronage of Ireland has a ſufficient influence over *four hundred men* to procure conſtant and large majorities for the miniſter. The ſame patronage would not only ſtill continue, but perhaps the patronage of England would afford ſome addition to it if neceſſary. The numbers to be operated upon would be reduced from about four hundred to about one hundred, lords and commoners, the ſame motives of patriotiſm would operate as on the Scotch members; and it is fair to infer, this *four-fold influence* would produce UNANIMOUS SUPPORT OF ANY MINISTRY.

Has the Britiſh nation forgotten the India Bill? What a ferment was then raiſed (it is not now to be ſaid, whether well or ill founded,) on the propoſal of a meaſure whoſe *doubtful* operation was to limit the power of one eſtate? what an outcry againſt the daring innovation, which was

to

to wreſt the ſceptre from the hands of the ſovereign, and to give it to the houſe of commons? But that was an effect *problematical* and *temporary*, this is one little leſs than *certain*,—and *eternal*, if indeed the conſtitution could ſurvive it.

Ingenious men have been deviſing ingenious plans to obviate this tremendous conſequence—among others, a deſtruction of a number of the moſt corrupt boroughs, equivalent to the number of Iriſh members to be ſent to England,—this however is a ſpeculation too viſionary, and a project too daring to be combated, if indeed after the ſerious propoſal of a Union, any thing can be termed daring or viſionary.

But, two anſwers may be given to this plan—firſt, a ſufficient number of ſuch boroughs could not be found, belonging to the miniſter, for the venal boroughs are chiefly under the influence of individuals, who ſometimes ſupport and ſometimes oppoſe miniſtry. Secondly, the diminiſhing the number of venal men, would facilitate the corruption of the remainder.

With perfect juſtice therefore, has the author of the "arguments," called in the aid of French principles. The projected Union is indeed indefenſible

defenſible on any other than modern revolutionary ground.

But ſtill it was not without aſtoniſhment, that at a firſt and haſty view of the "arguments," the author perceived the example of France, in "not only uniting to herſelf, and incorporating a great addition of territory, but in rendering *abſolutely dependent on her will, almoſt all the ſmaller ſtates which ſurrounded her*," employed as an argument by a perſon, acting under the adminiſtration of Mr. Pitt. What! that miniſter whoſe grand and boaſted object it is, *to reſtore the liberties of Europe, and to wreſt from France the iron ſceptre of univerſal domination!* That miniſter whoſe exuberant vocabulary is exhauſted of epithets of indignation and horror at her tyrannical conſolidation!—is it by that miniſter that we are called upon to adopt the "*French principles and force of incorporations, and to* RENDER ABSOLUTELY DEPENDANT ON THE WILL," *of Britain*, the inferior weaker kingdom of Ireland.

Surely the underſtanding of this gentleman muſt have been ſtupefied by the Bæotian air of Ireland,—or elſe he muſt have made a ſacrifice of policy, to the vain parade of argument and analogy,—if the latter were his intention, he has fully ſucceeded, for failing on every other ground, he certainly triumphs upon this, the

example, the arguments and the analogy are moſt ſatisfactory, compleat and unanſwerable.

But Engliſhmen will pauſe a while and conſider the nature and effect of this incorporation, and this conſolidation, and moſt aſſuredly they will find it to be a conſolidation of the pre-eminent and controuling authority of all the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the interpoſing and correcting power of the Lords, in the hands of the King. Whether this will meet their approbation, let themſelves determine; perhaps they may think public affairs may be ſo beſt conducted, and the Crown be enabled to carry us through this arduous conteſt with the greater energy; perhaps they may adopt, and be ſatisfied with the "new mode of adminiſtering the conſtitution," † or perhaps they may think with our Iriſh Secretary—"that "the government would not be the leſs vigi- "lently adminiſtered, that it would probably be "adminiſtered with more attention *becauſe it* "*would be leſs diſtracted by the buſineſs of party* "*and of* PARLIAMENT." But the conſequence appears to my mind inevitable—the ſubverſion of the conſtitution of Britain.

Is

† Letter of an Iriſh Barriſter to Joſhua Spencer, Eſq. Here at length we find the meaning and value of the learned gentleman's definition of an Union. It will indeed be a "*a new mode of adminiſtering the conſtitution,*" by the Crown alone, free from the controul or interpoſition of the Houſe of Commons or Houſe of Lords.

Is Britain then ſo intoxicated with the glories of triumph, or ſo corrupted by the influx of commercial wealth, as to diſregard the blow aimed at her liberty?—and has ſhe ungratefully forgotten that it is to that liberty alone, to that conſtitution alone, unrivalled and inimitable, that ſhe owes all her triumphs and all her wealth.

Even here I would call on the generoſity and compaſſion of my countrymen, and if they think their own independence unworthy preſervation—let them at leaſt regard the ancient and venerable fabriek of the Britiſh conſtitution, and let them not with the ſtupid malignity, falſely and wickedly attributed to the catholics, deſtroy the temple becauſe they cannot hope to enter it.

In no reſpect does the bounty of providence to this iſland appear ſo conſpicuous as in this, and it is worthy the ſerious attention of every member of the Empire, that her independence cannot be deſtroyed without the neceſſary deſtruction of Britiſh liberty.

FINIS.

STRICTURES

ON A

PAMPHLET,

ENTITLED

ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST AN

UNION

BETWEEN

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

CONSIDERED.

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OBSERVATIONS

ON A

PAMPHLET, &c.

A PUBLICATION having lately appeared, under the title of "Arguments for and againſt a Uni-"on between Great Britain and Ireland conſider-"ed," which the public mind was, by a previous report, prepared to receive, as the production of a gentleman of high official ſituation in this country, not only ſanctioned but authoriſed by the government, as containing a ſtatement of the ſpecific terms upon which a Union was intended to be propoſed, I was led by a full conviction of the importance of the ſubject, and an anxious ſolicitude for the deareſt intereſts of this country, which it involves, to give it an attentive, and I hope impartial, peruſal:

but what was my ſurpriſe, to find that ſo far from ſtating any ſpecific plan of a Union, it diſavows any ſuch intention, and propoſes only a conſideration of the general arguments upon the ſubject, having for its object to prove that the queſtion deſerves a temperate diſcuſſion;—a fact no man will deny.

Equally unſkilled in the intrigues of the ſtateſman, the ſubtilties of the lawyer, and the ſpeculations of the merchant, I offer to my countrymen the reflections of a plain and humble mind, with the ſole view of preventing them from being pre-occupied by the ſophiſtry of the pamphlet I allude to, and of inducing them to form and declare their opinions upon the ſubject of it, in that decided and energetic manner which the importance of it demands.

I am convinced that many abler pens will be employed in the diſcuſſion of this ſubject; but if the following ſheets ſhall awaken a ſingle Iriſhman to a ſenſe of the miſchiefs with which his country is threatened, I ſhall conſider this, my firſt intruſion upon the public, as pardonable.

Though the pamphlet profeſſes to be a diſpaſſionate enquiry into the merits of the arguments on *both* ſides, yet that the author is the advocate of the Britiſh government in favour of a Union, is too obvious to be miſtaken: I ſhall however ſuppoſe that

that it really is what it profeſſes to be, and ſhall endeavour to ſhew the fallacy of the arguments on which it relies.

The arguments adduced in ſupport of a Union, by the author of the pamphlet, may be claſſed under two heads:—

Firſt—Thoſe deduced from the evils under which this country at preſent labours.

Secondly—Thoſe ariſing from the benefits likely to reſult to it from a Union with Great Britain.

With reſpect to the firſt: The ills which have already fallen upon, and which ſtill impend over, this ill-fated land, the civil and religious diſcontents, the jealouſies and diſturbances, the conſpiracies, the inſurrections, and the rebellions which (to uſe the words of the pamphlet) have diſgraced us, are imputable, not (as the author of the pamphlet aſſerts) to our defects in civilization and policy, but to the mal-adminiſtration of the government; and I hold it unfair in the author of the pamphlet, to reſort to them as an argument, until he has firſt traced them to their ſource, and proved them to originate from the relative ſituation of the two countries—and not from the intrigues of the Britiſh cabinet, which have been calculated to foment thoſe diſcontents, to excite thoſe jealouſies, to connive at thoſe inſurrections, and finally, to amneſtiſe thoſe

thoſe rebellions, for the purpoſe of promoting their favourite, and now avowed, object. But—I will endeavour to follow the author of the pamphlet through his arguments.

The Sabines (ſays the author) no longer able to maintain themſelves againſt the power of Rome, relinquiſhed their independence and by their Union laid the foundation of Roman greatneſs *.

It is evident, that no analogy can exiſt between the relative ſituation of the Romans and Sabines, and that of Great Britain and Ireland; the former were governed by diſtinct and diſſimilar governments, and at war with each other; the latter are on terms of amity, and their executive government is the ſame. If he conſiders this as a conquered nation, unable to maintain itſelf againſt the power of Great Britain, and would wiſh to unite them, in order to lay the foundation of Britiſh greatneſs, (which is perhaps nearer the truth than he would chooſe to acknowledge) he is then driven to the neceſſity of abandoning the flattering theory of a Union, upon fair and equitable terms.

The arguments drawn from the Heptarchy, are totally inapplicable to Ireland. Let us conſider thoſe drawn from Scotland.

* Page 3.

It will, I believe, be admitted, that with reſpect to agriculture, arts, manufactures, and commerce, this kingdom is in a much more forward and flouriſhing ſtate at this day than Scotland, notwithſtanding all the advantages ſhe is ſuppoſed to have derived from the Union, which has now exiſted near a century. Can then any argument drawn from the ſtate of Scotland at the time of the Union, be applicable to this country at preſent? Beſide, Ireland now enjoys the full benefit of the laws and conſtitution of Great Britain, from which Scotland was excluded before the Union.

But there are two circumſtances, which the author of the pamphlet, notwithſtanding his affectation of candour, has thought it prudent to paſs over in ſilence; and which, in my mind, completely overturns all analogy between Scotland and Ireland.

Firſt—That the hand of nature has fixed the ſea as a boundary between Great Britain and this country, as if to mark the propriety of their being independent of each other.

Secondly—That one of the chief arguments in favour of the Union between England and Scotland, namely, that it would prevent the poſſibility of the two kingdoms being governed by different monarchs, (and which muſt have been the caſe, had the iſſue of James the Second failed before the Union)

on,) cannot apply to Ireland—the crown of which is inſeparably united to that of Great Britain.

Another argument in favour of the policy of a Union between Great Britain and Ireland, is drawn from the example of France; an example loudly and inceſſantly reprobated by every member of the Britiſh government, and reſerved for the author of the pamphlet to cite as an object of imitation!

In enumerating the diſadvantages attendant upon the exiſtence of ſeparate legiſlatures, in two independent kingdoms, under the ſame ſovereign, the author of the pamphlet makes uſe of the following words *.

"The ſovereign muſt reſide in one of the king-
"doms: there would of courſe be the metropolis
"of the empire; there would be the real ſeat of the
"government; thence would flow all the counſels;
"and thither would reſort thoſe who wiſhed for
"favour and emolument. The kingdom where
"the monarch did not reſide, not having the ori-
"gination of all counſels and meaſures, and having
"much of its rents carried away by abſentees,
"would be in a perpetual ſtate of jealouſy and diſ-
"content, and being ſeparate in all reſpects but in
"the individual perſon of the monarch, would be
"a prey to foreign faction; and an empire thus

* Page 10.

"compoſed

" compoſed could never be in a ſtate of full ſecu-
" rity, for there never could be a certainty that all
" parts of it would purſue the ſame ſyſtem."

I am ſtill to learn, which of the miſchiefs ſtated in the foregoing paragraph, as ariſing from the preſent conſtitution of this country, would be removed, or even mitigated, by a Union. Would the metropolis of the empire, or the real ſeat of the government, be fixed in Ireland? Would the councils of the empire originate there? Would Dublin be reſorted to by the candidates for courtly favour or emolument? Would jealouſy and diſcontent be removed by a reduction of the abſentee liſt? Would the intrigues of foreign faction be diſcouraged and defeated, by the ſuperior vigilance and promptitude of a legiſlature, reſident in, and occupied by the concerns of another kingdom? or in fine—would ſuch a certainty of an identity of intereſt be extended to the whole empire, as would give complete and permanent ſecurity?

Having taken a view of the diſadvantages ſtated by the pamphlet, to attend the preſent conſtitution of this country, let us now conſider the advantages which it ſuppoſes likely to reſult from the adoption of a Union, upon fair and equitable principles.

* "The monarch would remain in England as "at preſent: the abſentee proprietors of land "*might* encreaſe."

That they *muſt* do ſo, no man will be hardy enough to deny: but indeed the author's candour is equally conſpicuous in this admiſſion, as in his ſtatement that near *one* million of the rents of the kingdom are annually exported to the abſentees, when it is notorious that they amount to conſiderably above *two* millions.

"London, *as at preſent*, would be the general re-"ſort for buſineſs, for advancement, for pleaſure."

Here again the author's candour is conſpicuous: Can it be doubted that London muſt be *much more* reſorted to than at preſent?

"But the Britiſh cabinet would receive a mixture "of Iriſhmen, and the councils of the Britiſh par-"liament would be much influenced by the weight "and ability of the Iriſh members."

The Britiſh cabinet has already, at different periods received a mixture of Iriſhmen, nor have Iriſh members of weight and ability been wanting in the Britiſh Parliament; and can it be conceived that what the efforts of thoſe men, aided by a free and independent (and therefore a bold and ſpirited) legiſlature in this country, were unable to attain,

* Page 15.

can

can be accompliſhed by a handful of penſioned mercenaries, who having already bartered their own honour, and the rights of the people they miſrepreſent, will conclude the infamous traffic by ſelling even their political reverſion.

" All our party conteſts would be transferred to " Great Britain; Britiſh faction would ceaſe to " operate here; there would be no jealouſy of " Britiſh influence on the cabinet or parliament."

This, if true, ſerves only to remind us of Harlequin, who propoſed curing the tooth-ach by cutting off the patient's head.

" There would be no claſhing of diſtinct in- " tereſts, NO FEAR OF IRELAND BECOMING TOO " POWERFUL TO GOVERN."

I am inclined to think that the author of the pamphlet, (notwithſtanding that portion of political ſagacity which he is allowed to poſſeſs) has here inadvertently diſcovered the true and governing principle by which Great Britain is determined to promote an Union. But I would aſk him, what he means by " no fear of Ireland be- " coming too powerful to govern?"—Does he mean that Great Britain would then have ſuch an entire aſcendancy in the councils and legiſlature of the nation, and that Ireland would be ſo degraded and ſunk in political conſequence, that ſhe would

not dare to reſiſt any meaſure which Great Britain might chooſe to adopt, and muſt tamely ſubmit not only to be governed by her, but to be governed in any manner, however ignominious, that ſhe might dictate?—

"France could no longer ſpeculate on the na-
"ture of our diſtinct government and parliament,
"and hope to ſeparate the kingdom in fact from
"Great Britain, as it is already ſeparated in
"theory."

If a parliament, conſiſting of three hundred members, reſident in and deriving their ſupport from this kingdom, could not, by their influence and exertions, counteract the effect of French ſpeculations, can it be ſuppoſed that the ſhadow of a parliament, reſident in another country, and looking to that country alone for honour and emolument, could accompliſh it? Beſide it is notorious, that the firſt effects of thoſe ſpeculations were viſible on the eſtates of abſentee proprietors, and of courſe their influence might be expected to keep pace with the encreaſe of abſentees.

"The cultivation, the improvement of Ireland,
"like that of Scotland, would be peculiarly at-
"tended to, as the encreaſe of our wealth, con-
"ſequence, ability, and power, muſt tend to en-
"creaſe

" creaſe the ſecurity of the empire, not to en-
" danger it."

The comparative deficiency of Scotland in arts, commerce, and manufactures, forbad all jealouſy of her as a rival, and therefore was her improvement peculiarly attended to; but as ſo long ſince as the reign of King William, England not only regarded this country with a jealous eye, but actually forced her to relinquiſh her then ſtaple manufacture, giving her in return that, which the perſevering induſtry of her people has ſince brought to perfection; ſo we may fairly conclude, that every meaſure tending to encourage the manufactures, or promote the trade of the country, would be conſidered as claſhing with the intereſt of Great Britain, to whom (to uſe the author's own words) " * a preference will be always given."

From the foregoing view it is evident, that the propoſed meaſure of an Union would neither, on the one hand remedy the diſadvantages ſtated by the pamphlet to attend the preſent conſtitution of this country; nor, on the other, produce the advantages which the pamphlet has ſuppoſed to ariſe from it.

The author of the pamphlet ſays, in page 12, that " the intereſts of England *muſt ever* prepon-
" derate,

* Page 12.

" derate, a *preference* will be *always* given to her." I own I am at a loſs to conceive how that poſition is reconcileable with his aſſertion in page 39, that " an Union will place the Iriſh merchant upon " an equality with the Britiſh, and he will be *cer-* " *tain* to enjoy *for ever* the ſame privileges, pro- " tections, regulations, bounties, &c."—If the former of theſe poſitions be true, an Union upon fair and equitable terms is not attainable; if the latter, it preſuppoſes either that all rivalſhip between the two kingdoms in trade and manufactures muſt ceaſe, which can only be produced by the entire extinction of them in this country, or that the Britiſh parliament, with an unexampled liberality, would prefer the intereſt of this country to that of Great Britain.

The author of the pamphlet aſſerts * that " ſo " long as the Iriſh Parliament ſhall remain free " and independent, it muſt be ſubject to the ca- " bals of Britiſh party," that is, in other words, that ſo long as an Iriſh parliament, conſiſting of three hundred members, ſhall continue to ſit in this kingdom, for the purpoſe of legiſlating for this kingdom, ſo long the Britiſh miniſter may find it impoſſible utterly to extinguiſh all public ſpirit; a latent ſpark will ſtill be found to warm ſome

* Page 14.

ſome boſoms, which requires only the according breath of a people determined to be free, to kindle a flame ſufficient to conſume the proudeſt fabric of deſpotiſm; but ſhould the independence of our legiſlature be once relinquiſhed, the few miſerable repreſentatives of our degradation, aliens from their wretched country, and drawn within the vortex of the Britiſh miniſter, could, without difficulty, be prevailed upon to forfeit even the ſemblance of patriotiſm, forgetful of the intereſts of that unhappy country, which, in ſubmitting to ſuch meaſures, had forgot itſelf.

The fallacy of the arguments founded on the conſtitution of the United States of America, is too palpable to require expoſure: but I own it ſurpriſes me, that the author ſhould venture to introduce ſuch arguments as might lead the mind to the contemplation of a free government, and of the bleſſings it produces; a train of thinking, which muſt militate moſt powerfully againſt the cauſe he wiſhes to promote.

With reſpect to thoſe arguments founded on the difference of religious opinions between the Proteſtants and Roman Catholics in this country, I ſhall only obſerve, that the author is well aware of the policy of the maxim, "divide et impera," and adduces thoſe arguments in proſecution of the ſyſtem, already but too

too ſucceſsfully practiſed by the Britiſh government with reſpect to this country. I truſt, however, that the period is not far diſtant, when an union of Iriſhmen will take place, when every diſtinction, but that of country, will be forgotten, and the people, no longer the dupes of thoſe inſidious arts which have been practiſed to diſunite them, will, with one voice, aſſert their rights; ſuch an effort muſt be ſucceſsful, it muſt be irreſiſtible! even the author of the pamphlet admits it. *

The author has, with much ingenuity, endeavoured to conciliate, where he cannot convince, and, with the ſuppleneſs of a courtier, has addreſſed himſelf to each religious ſect in turn, expatiating upon the advantages which it muſt excluſively derive from an Union: but he has aſſumed a fact neither admitted nor proved; namely, that complete ſecurity of all rights and property muſt flow to this country from an Union: on this aſſumption moſt of his arguments depend, and by diſproving this, (which I have already endeavoured to do) muſt they fall.

By ſtating that the chief oppoſition to an Union is likely to ariſe from the Bar †, the author of the pamphlet has furniſhed one of the moſt deciſive arguments

* Page 49. † Page 34.

arguments againſt the propriety of the meaſure.—The Bar here is on a footing entirely different from that in England; it is the general cuſtom in this country to educate every commoner of rank and fortune to that profeſſion; it may therefore be fairly eſtimated to poſſeſs one ſixth of the property, and three fourths of the talents and information of the country, with a ſtill greater proportion of legal and conſtitutional knowledge, and therefore its oppoſition to any public meaſure muſt be conſidered, (as it always has been, and as the author is aware it will be in the preſent inſtance) deciſive evidence of the evil tendency of that meaſure.

The author ſtates *, that 'tis ſaid ſome leading characters at the Bar approve of a Union; and argues, that as aged and experienced characters are as liable to political temptations as the virtuous arendcy of youth, and as they cannot be ſwayed by private intereſt, their opinion ſhould outweigh that of the younger part of the profeſſion. The author here aſſumes two facts; firſt, that age is as liable to political temptation as youth, and next, that no intereſted motive operates upon the characters he alludes to;—the former I deny, unleſs by "political "temptation" he means the temptation of avarice, which I am inclined to think meets his idea;

* Page 36.

with regard to the latter, as the author only ſtates the opinions of thoſe aged and experienced characters from hear-ſay, and as perhaps they would wiſh to conceal even from themſelves the motives which influence thoſe opinions, I think the author is not warranted in the concluſions he draws.

It is ſaid, that by a Union a preference would be inſured for ever in the Engliſh markets, to the Iriſh linens and corn *.

We may argue from experience, (and the author himſelf furniſhes me with an authority † for ſaying, that an argument from experience in political reaſoning, is ſuperior to any argument in theory) that Great Britain would not conſider herſelf bound to this country, by any agreement that might militate againſt her intereſt: and it is not to be ſuppoſed, that the Britiſh miniſter, whoſe very exiſtence depends upon the monied intereſt of that country, would heſitate to ſacrifice to it the rights of this, degraded as it would be by a Union to the ſtate of a deſpicable Province. And here, as a proof of that *liberality* which characteriſes Great Britain in all tranſactions relating to this country, let me advert to the treatment experienced by thoſe miſerable ſufferers, who, on a recent occaſion, yielding to the imperious neceſſity of the times, abandoned their

* Pages 28, 38, and 42.

property

property and habitations, to ſeek protection from Great Britain. As fellow-men, as fellow-ſubjects, and in diſtreſs, they had a claim upon the humanity, upon the benevolence of the Britiſh nation—but how ſtrongly, how irreſiſtibly was that claim enforced by the conſideration, that the misfortunes under which they groaned were incurred by an attachment to the *Britiſh* government, that in *its* cauſe their laſt hopes were ſacrificed!!—Yet in what manner were they received? How was their attachment rewarded? To ſome few perhaps, a churliſh and temporary relief was extended; while the remainder were ſuffered to languiſh under the complicated miſeries of poverty and exile, aggravated by the ſtupid and impertinent curioſity, or the inſulting pity of the ſelfiſh and unfeeling! Such, my countrymen, is the *liberality* of Great Britain—ſuch the nation in whoſe honour and whoſe juſtice we are implicitly to confide!

With regard to the fitneſs of the preſent time for the agitation of the queſtion, the conduct of the Britiſh government is, in *that* inſtance, conſiſtent: having induſtriouſly and effectually promoted religious jealouſies and diviſions, and excited a factitious ſpirit of loyalty, they are determined to avail themſelves of the deluſion while it ſtill exiſts, and by ſeizing on the moment which domeſtic diſſenſion and foreign

weakneſs have conſpired to render favourable, to level at once the proud ſtructure of Iriſh independence which the ſpirit and exertions of our Volunteers had erected. But let me intreat you, my countrymen, to declare your ſentiments in the bold, yet moderate, language of men determined to protect their rights; and ſhould your juſt and temperate remonſtrances be diſregarded, or the hand of power be exerted to enforce ſubmiſſion to a meaſure pregnant with deſtruction to your country, let me conjure you to rally round the ſacred pile, with a determined reſolution to protect it, (by every conſtitutional means) or periſh beneath its ruins!!

One word upon what the author calls "falſe notions of pride," and the contempt with which he treats all objections drawn from the independence of this kingdom.

If in contemplating the wealth, the power, and the reſources of Great Britain, in recounting the conſequence in the ſcale of nations, as the envy and protectreſs of Europe, the author feels himſelf animated by national pride;—by what authority then does he preſume to deny to the natives of this country, that laudable propenſity? Is he not content with perſevering tyranny to enſlave the bodies, but muſt he alſo ſhackle the feelings and affections of Iriſhmen! Let him beware how he awakens the indignation

dignation of a brave, and (as yet) free People, leſt the Britiſh government ſhould be convinced, *too late*, by ſad experience, that the ſpirit of independence is not dead, it only ſlept.

Let us now take a ſhort view of his anſwer to the arguments drawn from national dignity and national pride.

* "Ireland," ſays the author, "independent "Ireland, has, at this moment, it's commerce in all "parts of the world protected, without expence, "by the Britiſh navy."

Will the author pretend to aſſert, that Ireland contributes nothing to the ſupport of the Britiſh navy? Are the thouſands of able and experienced ſeamen by which her fleets are manned, and who have contributed in no ſmall degree to carry the Britiſh flag triumphant over the world, nothing? Is the ſupply of ſeamen invariably voted in time of war by the Iriſh parliament, nothing? Are the liberal, nay profuſe penſions granted upon the Iriſh eſtabliſhment, to be raiſed and paid out of the national purſe, to the Britiſh admirals, and to every branch and connection of the royal family of Great Britain, nothing? But above all, is the vaſt *excluſive* market which Great Britain enjoys in this country for all her manufactures, a market more valuable than any other Europe could

* Page 50.

afford

afford, and of ſuch extent, as to reach even the moſt miſerable hovel, in the moſt inacceſſible part of the kingdom, nothing? I will venture to aſſert, that the contribution of Ireland in the manner I have mentioned towards the expence of the Britiſh navy, is more than adequate to any protection ſhe has ever received.

"Her ſupplies for the year" (continues the author) "are chiefly raiſed by the Britiſh miniſter in "England, on the faith of the Britiſh parliament."

That in that independence annexed to property, Ireland is not equal to Great Britain, I am willing to admit; but I truſt ſhe *will* prove herſelf equally independent in ſpirit.

"Her country is protected from domeſtic and "foreign enemies, by 40,000 Britiſh troops, at the "expence to Great Britain, of £700,000 a-year."

If GreatBritain has thought proper to ſend a vaſt military force into this country, to anſwer ſome ſecret purpoſe, and without any benefit to Ireland, 'tis fit that Great Britain *alone* ſhould bear the expence; and it is in the recollection of every man, that the late rebellion was ſuppreſſed before the arrival of the troops alluded to—and indeed little protection could be expected from them when one of their fineſt and moſt numerous regiments, it is ſaid, refuſed to march out of the city of Dublin.

It

It might be concluded from the arguments above cited, that the retaining Ireland as a part of her empire, is not an object to Great Britain: if it is *not*, why does ſhe interfere with our conſtitution, for the avowed purpoſe of binding us more cloſely to her?—if it *is*, why are we told of a pitiful expence incurred in our protection, which is repaid tenfold by the advantages ſhe derives from us?

Having thus conſidered the moſt prominent arguments adduced by the pamphlet, in favour of a Union, I freely admit that the adoption of ſome of the meaſures recommended by the author, particularly a modification of tithes, and a permanent eſtabliſhment for the Roman Catholic clergy, would be highly beneficial to this country; but I ſee no neceſſity for clogging them with a Union.

The author having manifeſted a wiſh to meliorate the condition of this country, and at the ſame time to benefit the empire at large, and it being my earneſt deſire to accompliſh the ſame ends, however we may differ as to the means, I beg leave, before I conclude, to ſuggeſt a plan, which I dare ſay will meet his approbation.——By the abolition of the ſlave trade, and the conſequent emancipation of the negroes, the trade and property of Great Britain will be much injured; and the diſcovery of a remedy for the evil muſt be highly beneficial to the ſtate:

ſtate: it ſtrikes me that the natives of this country may be conſidered by the author as worthy to ſupply the place of the negroes; they are in general ſtronger, more tractable, and full as patient of fatigue, and have this peculiar advantage above the negroes, that they can labour inceſſantly upon the cheapeſt of all food—potatoes and water;—the ſubſtitution of them therefore in the ſtead of the negroes is much to be deſired, and a propoſition to that effect might, with much propriety, accompany the Union.——I merely ſubmit this hint to the author of the pamphlet, not doubting but that his talents and patriotiſm will improve upon it!

FINIS.

7

Third Edition, Corrected.

AN

ANSWER

TO THE

PAMPHLET,

ENTITLED

ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST AN UNION, &c. &c.

IN A

LETTER

ADDRESSED TO

EDWARD COOKE, Esq.

Secretary at War.

NOLUMUS LEGES HIBERNIÆ MUTARI.

BY

PEMBERTON RUDD, Esq.

BARRISTER AT LAW.

—DUBLIN:—

PRINTED FOR J MILLIKEN, 32, GRAFTON-STREET.

1799.

AN

ANSWER, &c. &c.

TO

EDWARD COOKE, Esq. &c. &c.

Sir,

WHEN I addreſs YOU, or ANY man, (to whom I have not the honour to be perſonally known), my firſt care is—not to be miſunderſtood;—my firſt hope—not to offend.

The queſtion (Union or no Union) is become no novelty to the minds of the Citizens of Dublin, and I ſhould be excuſeable, perhaps, in diſcuſſing it without preface. Yet, as I make YOUR name the uſher of MY ſentiments to the public, I hold myſelf bound to account to you, Sir, why I preſume to do ſo.

I have read a pamphlet, (read it, in MANY places with admiration, and I hope, in ALL with reſpect and temper) I have read a pamphlet, entitled "Arguments for and againſt an Union, between Great Britain and Ireland," and I have heard, (univerſally heard), that YOU are its author.

IF you are NOT the author of the pamphlet in queſtion, I beg you to conſider the few following ſheets, merely as a dedication, (nothing more), to a gentleman, who happens, in theſe times of wars and rumours of wars, to fill a very high and confidential office in the military department of this country, with the aſſiduity of a man of buſineſs, and the manners of a gentleman. IF YOU ARE the author of that pamphlet, I have no apology to make. I ſhall treat you, as I hope to be treated myſelf; read you with ſeverity and criticiſm; *ſtrive* to anſwer you with candor, ſincerity, and truth. I may diſſent from your deductions as a politician—without outraging your feelings as a gentleman. To you, then, Sir, no more—to the public, eſpecially the Dublin-public, who have read your pamphlet.——

"AUDI ALTERAM PARTEM."

You

You ſet out by ſaying, and you ſay truly, that the Union is a queſtion of extent and importance; that it applies warmly to the feelings—I believe indeed you ſay, "to all the feelings of the human mind;" but, alas! there are ſome men, who have ſome feelings, to which argumentative applications were in vain; for, they are "armed ſo ſtrong in"—(I was going to ſay "honeſty,") "that they paſs by them as the idle winds, which they reſpect not." You ſay, it is a queſtion cannot fail to be univerſally debated, but you expreſs your fear "that it will not be PROPERLY debated." I am ſorry you ſhould have carried the rules of academic theme-writing into the compoſition of a political pamphlet; I am ſorry you ſhould have elucidated your poſition, by your perſonal example! Yet, I confeſs, you have made a convert of me. I have read your pamphlet, and I agree with you, that the Union is a ſubject, which MAY not be PROPERLY debated.

But of this—more anon;——

Though I do not completely ſubſcribe to the order, even, in which you have arranged your arguments; yet as I preſume to anſwer you, I hold myſelf obliged to follow you. I think it my duty

to

to attend you, "*ſeriatim et literatim*," through every page and line of a production, likely to intereſt ſo deeply every man I value in ſociety. In yourſelf, I believe, you are entitled to all poſſible conſideration and deference to your opinions—but I go farther than that: I believe, and ſo do thouſands as well as I—that you ſpeak the ſentiments, at leaſt, that you hold out the reaſonings of men higher in political conſequence than yourſelf: and that we, poor people at the *outſide* of the curtain, who are too far removed from the machinery of State Pieces, to ſee the wires which conduct the Pantomime; can only gueſs at what paſſes behind the Scenes, from the now-and-then glimpſe of the hand of the Prompter. We *muſt* argue *from* you *to* them: What you would venture to ſay, you or they might hazard to do: it is all one, "QUI FACIT PER ALIUM, FACIT PER SE."

Well then, Sir, You would have a Union? Is it ſo? But you would "diſcuſs it *fairly*," and to prove your ſincerity, you ſay you will begin by ſtating the queſtion in the Abſtract; viz. (Page 2) "Two independent States, finding their ſeparate "exiſtence mutually inconvenient, propoſe to form "themſelves into one State, for their mutual "benefit." I deny your poſtulatum: I never heard one

one ſingle Engliſhman repine at his ſeparate exiſtence, deprecate his mutual inconveniences, or pray to unite his fate through life, with ſuch a dower-leſs termagant Conſort as poor Ireland. Nay, I am yet to learn, that even the moſt inſignificant *cloſe* Borough in *this* kingdom has petitioned either his Majeſty or the Parliament, to adviſe—to promote —or to effect an Union. I look in vain for the documents whence you collect your hypotheſis: The Quarry muſt be a plaguy ſecret one, from which you have hewn this corner-ſtone of your edifice. Yet you ſay, "nothing can be deviſed more fit for ſober and philoſophic argument." I think it looks bad in proſe, yet it might make neat argument to a Canto of Poetry, for it is pretty fiction.

The light of hiſtory is beyond queſtion, ſingularly uſeful in ſhewing us the ſtumbling blocks which tripped up our forefathers, and pointing to us the way which we ourſelves ſhould go. The Author of the Pamphlet before me, has availed himſelf of every—even the moſt antique illumination on the ſubject, and has ſelected no leſs than TWO examples to prove that an Iriſh Union would be a "good thing." Of theſe two examples, it is true, that one is a few thouſand years poſterior

to

to the other. It is in the Pamphlet however, (page 3.) put firſt, and ſo I take it—I mean the example of the Seven United Provinces, which were (to uſe the Author's own words) "cruelly oppreſſed by the Spaniſh government, &c." and ſo "they ſeparated to eſcape tyranny," &c." and the Author ſays "they did right." Now, is this an argument for an Iriſh Union?

But, no doubt, the ſtrong argument is kept for the laſt—I have dwelt on it with attention, and it runs in theſe words: "When the Sabines found they "could not maintain themſelves any longer againſt "the Romans, and ſaw that by uniting with them "they had an opportunity of encreaſing their li- "berty, their happineſs, and their power; they acted "according to the principles of reaſon and right "in relinquiſhing their ſeparate independency as a "ſtate, *and by their Union, laid the foundation of* "*Roman Greatneſs.*" Apply the parallel. Have the Sabines (i. e. the Iriſh) *found* that they cannot maintain themſelves *any longer* againſt the Romans, (i. e. the Engliſh)? Do the Iriſh ſee, that by uniting with them, they have an opportunity of encreaſing their liberty, their happineſs, and (oh! monſtrous!) their power? Will even the Author of the Pamphlet anſwer theſe queſtions in the affirmative?

tive? And if he does, ſtill what becomes of his concluſion, viz. "and by that Union, laid the "foundation of their greatneſs." Of whoſe greatneſs? Of Roman, *Roman* greatneſs. What became even of the very name of Sabine? Was it not loſt, merged, overwhelmed and engulphed in the vortex of Roman Rapacity? The Sabines aggrandized the Romans: admitted! Do you want the Iriſh to aggrandize Great Britain? She don't need it—She is no adjective ſtate: In the political grammar of Europe, England can ſtand alone!!! PROUDLY ALONE! and were it otherwiſe, what Iriſhman would ſnatch the ſtaff from the hand of Hibernia, ſcarce yet able to ſtand erect, or walk alone; to place it in the graſp of a Siſter, older, richer, greater, and ſtronger; to be hereafter uſed, perhaps, as the inſtrument of unmerited infliction,—at beſt, as the Mace of arrogant ſuperiority. Nay, farther; ſuppoſing every poſſible good conſequence, eventually, to ariſe from it: *My* mind has an inſurmountable antipathy to the old *forcible* reaſons which muſt be the neceſſary forerunners to aſſimilate theſe caſes: I ſhould be grieved even to agony, to find the *raviſhing* arguments which overcame the Sabines, applied to my fair, my honoured, my

virtuous country-women: and deeply ſhould I fear, that the produce of ſuch an Union would be deſerted, or contemned, as a baſtard, and inſtead of being cheriſhed with the milk of human kindneſs, would be ſtinted in its nouriſhment and *ſuckled by a wolf*. If the Author *will* have Sabine Hiſtory, why did he forget to hint at the fate of Sabine Tatius? It might be no inapplicable caution to the Iriſh promoters of an Union. As the Author proceeds to except eſpecially to every argument drawn from what he calls "the common-place topics of national dignity and national pride"—I forbear to touch on them: indeed on that head, there can *not* be TWO opinions, and the queſtion with which he begins, (page 4) is a *petitio principii*.

I deny that the conſolidation of the ſeparate ſhires of the Heptarchy into one empire, nay, even the junction of the kingdom of Scotland to England, can at this day furniſh a juſt and reaſonable parallel to an Union between this Country and Great Britain. Independent of the other reaſons of popular pre-opinions, (for I will not libel them with the term prejudices) independent of nationality and other arguments to be touched on hereafter,

Nature

Nature herſelf ſeems to have interpoſed local obſtacles and impediments to ſuch an undertaking—Nature had not dealt with Scotland as with Ireland —She had not expanded the boſom of the Tweed to the breadth of the Iriſh Channel, nor dropt the Scottiſh Hebrides like the verdant plains of Ireland,

"A PRECIOUS GEM! SET IN THE SILVER SEA."

SHAKESPEAR'S RICHARD 2nd.

The Author proceeds to make juſt diſtinctions between queſtions of choice and of neceſſity. I pray Heaven! they never may become diſtinctions without difference.

An Union is compared, (page 5.) to a partnerſhip. But we ſhould not forget that by the very articles of partnerſhip, an eternal relinquiſhment of our little capital would be a SINE-QUA-NON. Our hopes of benefit from this fine participation in an extenſive and a wealthy ferme *might* be diſappointed, we *might* pine to withdraw ourſelves from this great ſcale of things, and carry on buſineſs in an humbler, happier ſphere: But where or how is the once-relinquiſhed capital to be ſubtracted? Alas! the

Independence and the Conſtitution we have once parted with, is gone and ſurrendered for ever! And truly ſhould we *never* wiſh to diſſolve the connection, I ſee no mighty comfort or reſpectability attached to the ſituation, at leaſt of the *poor* co-partner. Muſt he not travel every ſitting to the counting-houſe of his more wealthy ally, who takes care to keep the books and the coffers in his own parlour: and when at laſt the profits of the ferme are to be diſtributed, he receives, not a ſhare, but a ſtipend, and diſcontentedly departs not with the honorable dividend of a partner, but the galling wages of a clerk.

In caſe of an Union, the Author thus lays down the relative circumſtances of each partner, or State: Ireland, "inferior in point of Civilization, Agriculture, Commerce, Manufactures, Morals, Manners, Eſtabliſhments, Conſtitution;" England, "Eminent and Superior in all!" Then, ſays he, is it not evident, "the former muſt be amazingly benefited by an Union? What! are we to ſuppoſe, or would he infer that England would unconditionally, gratuitouſly, and without moſt weighty correſponding ſacrifices upon our part, be ſo *unnaturally*

naturally generous, as to *force* theſe benefits upon us? Ah!——

"TIMEO DANAOS, ET DONA FERENTES."

I would beſeech Iriſhmen to pauſe, before they ruſh into the arms of ſuch deceitful blandiſhment; and beware how they ſurrender a conſtitution, they never can recal!

But if I have hitherto diſſented from the arguments of the pamphlet before me, how ſhall I expreſs my ſurprize and aſtoniſhment, at the language of the 8th and 9th pages, in which the example of France—yes! of lawleſs, graſping, robbing France, is held up as the mirror to nations; and as the alluring example to—what? to *Indiviſibility and Union!* Not to dwell upon the horror with which every honeſt native of England and Ireland, have been forced to look at every political act of that all-graſping and unprincipled people; not to mention the moral turpitude, nor the political infidelity of the principle, ſurely, if this example or parallel of our author proves any thing, it proves too much; for if England (in caſe

caſe of an Union) is to become like overgrown France, Ireland, (to carry on his own parallel), muſt be Geneva, which our author TELLS us is incorporated, and which WE KNOW is enſlaved; or, ſhe muſt be Savoy, which he alſo tells us is incorporated, and which we know has been deluged in blood; or ſhe muſt be Auſtrian Flanders or Spain, the one convulſed with factions and intrigue, the other trembling from her vicinity to plunderers, to whoſe rapacity and avarice, the Pyrenees are Mole-hills; or ſhe muſt be Holland, Switzerland, Sardinia, or the new Republic of Italy—take your choice. Glorious examples all of fraternal Union, and the bleſſings of ſtrict political Indiviſibility! I confeſs I am ſtartled at this whole paſſage; and though I have read it often, I ſhould doubt that I had read it aright, were it not for the very unequivocal ſentences which follow: "France well knows the principle and the force of incorporations." "Every ſtate which ſhe unites to herſelf, ſhe makes part of her empire, ONE and INDIVISIBLE," &c. &c. Indeed I ſhould not have reliſhed this implied approbation of the predatory policy of our enemy, even in a common writer: but when I find it flow from a pen, which we muſt

ſuppoſe

ſuppoſe to have been dipped in the ink, perhaps, of the Privy-council-chamber; and guided by an official hand, I acknowledge my wonder without reſerve. " *France!* ONE and INDIVISIBLE!!!" For God's ſake, if her pernicious ſyſtem muſt be held forth at all, let it be exhibited as a warning to deter, not diſplayed as a model for imitation. We have lately had one kind of Union (as they called it) attempted for Ireland, and, thanks to the Providence of Almighty God, to the valour and true patriotiſm of the Yeomanry of Ireland, and to the prudence, vigilance, and energy of government, that wicked, bloody, and unnatural attempt, recoiled on the heads which planned it; the political blunderbuſs burſt in the hands which dared to preſent it! Again I ſay—let Iriſhmen beware of an Union!

Though the pamphlet before me, and which I am thus preſuming to analyze, be entitled, " Arguments for and againſt an Union," I am able (as yet) to diſcover no arguments, but what are enliſted (ſome of them actually preſſed) into the ſervice of the PRO ſide of this queſtion: unleſs, indeed, we are to conſider ſome of them as being veritably intended (by a very delicate irony of

of the author) to undermine the very cauſe to which common and plain-judging apprehenſions, might think them applied as ſupporters; and truly of this claſs, might be ſuppoſed the argument of page 10; where the author ſtates the loſs which the ſecondary ſtate or province muſt always and neceſſarily ſuſtain, from the non-reſidence of only ONE branch of the legiſlative aggregate, namely, the Sovereign; and yet (uncandidly enough, methinks) paſſes over, nay, totally omits the obvious and palpable inference, *a fortiori*, of how very much theſe ſaid loſſes muſt be extended, multiplied, and aggravated, (in caſe of ſuch indiviſible Union), when not only the king would continue an abſentee, but the whole houſe of peers, (late reſidents in this kingdom), would *become* abſentees, and not only king and peers be abſent, but all the whole three branches of the legiſlature, King, Lords, Commons! ALL Abſentees. I have ſaid, the *whole* Houſe of Peers, and I think it will not be difficult to ſupport the ſuppoſition; for if you deduct, in the firſt inſtance, the number of elective peers, who muſt neceſſarily repair to attend parliamentary duties every ſeſſion, to London, (twenty, ſuppoſe—if, indeed, England would be ſo good as

to

tenant, who now has his landlord on the ſpot, witneſs to his loſſes, and willing to relieve him; would it ſerve *him*, think you, to ſend a griping *Steward* to his farm, and have his laſt guinea eviſcerated from him, to be changed, perhaps, that hour into an Engliſh Bill; not *here* to be beſtowed in the relief of want, encouragement of arts, or even the conſumption of luxuries; but, *there* to be eaten at a feaſt, drank with a miſtreſs, or loſt upon a die!!!

Sir, this is, believe me, no highly coloured picture of the effects to be expected from an Union: ONE AND INDIVISIBLE.

In the following paragraphs of your work, you repreſent the conſequences which you ſay muſt reſult from the free admiſſion of the Catholics to complete political equality, and which you ſtate to be, Repeal of the Teſt and Supremacy Acts—Re-introduction of the Pope's Juriſdiction, &c. &c.: ſurely I ſhall not be expected to ſtop to debate ſuch improbable events. I incline to think the prime cauſe neceſſary to their production, will never have exiſtence. Let us not waſte time upon *poſſible* matters, or loſe ſight, even for a moment of the grand queſtion, UNION OR

NO UNION! Would to God, we could claſs that attempt amongſt REMOTE contingencies!

But to come, at length, to compleat argumentative preciſion:

In page 26 of your book, Sir, you regularly reduce and condenſe "the natural effects of a favourable legiſlative Union," into heads; and you dreſs theſe heads very much in the form of axioms, "Firſt, ſecondly, thirdly, fourthly," I ſhall diſcuſs them EVERY ONE: and before I begin, ſhall juſt make one general obſervation; namely, that by the expreſſion "favourable legiſlative Union," you are "BEGGING THE QUESTION." What right have we to pre-ſuppoſe England would perſevere in cramming "a favourable Union" down our throats; and inſiſt on *loading* Ireland, her dear Siſter, "*nolens, volens*," with Privileges, Rights, Exemptions, Immunities, and Advantages of all kinds; which, if not taken and ſubtracted from her proper SELF, muſt drop from the moon? Will ſhe ſay to Ireland, "Take HALF my trade, but I will keep ALL my taxes." Thus was ſhe "monſtrous kind," when ſhe ALLURED us to a

SIMPLE

SIMPLE REPEAL, then WHEEDLED us to take her abſolute RENUNCIATION; and at laſt COAXED us to accept of a FREE TRADE. Truſt me, I ſhould be ſincerely ſorry, cautious, and ſuſpicious, were I now to ſee her COMPLIMENTING us with your "favourable Union." If ever England, by her engines, by her arts, or by her arms, ſhall be able to tempt, to beſot, or to provoke us to this SELF-DESTRUCTION of the vital principle of our POLITICAL EXISTENCE, if ever ſhe ſhall be able to force, or to perſuade us to commit upon ourſelves, this great CONSTITUTIONAL SUICIDE, the only poſthumous favour we can hope from the judgment of poſterity, will be,——their tearful verdict—NATIONAL LUNACY!

But let me not wander from my original: you lay it down as granted, that "the natural effects," which would reſult from your "favourable Union," muſt be theſe:

Firſt, "The Empire would have but one legiſlature, one organ of the public will, and the dangers which ariſe from an *imperium in imperio*, from two ſupreme powers, would be avoided." Conſtitutionally ſpeaking, I hold the Lords and Commons of Ire-

land to be but parts of an "*imperium*," and no "*Supreme power*," without the King: their Acts are powerleſs without the King. The King of England is "*ipſo facto*," King of Ireland; and until it is ſhewn to me, that the King of Ireland is ſubordinate to, controulable by, or dependant upon the King of England, I cannot bring myſelf to think, that the legiſlature of Ireland, as at preſent eſtabliſhed, is a "Supreme power," included in, ſubordinate to, controulable by, and dependent upon any other "Supreme power" under Heaven.

At the time I ſat down to anſwer your arguments, it was moſt devoutly my intention, not to deſiſt, until I ſhould have traced you, Sir, through all the paradoxes of your ingenious work, even to the laſt tittle of your laſt page; but, on throwing my eye over the ſcattered ſheets, which already lie written on my table, and conſidering I have not yet got farther on my journey, than to your 26th page, I am apprehenſive I ſhould exceed, in point of bulk, the limits uſually preſcribed to pamphlets of this nature: for the preſent, therefore, I am conſtrained, indeed reluctantly, to take my leave. What I have yet further to obſerve upon the ſubject, ſhall make the matter of a ſecond letter; and

as

as my heart is in the cauſe, you may conjecture that I ſhall not long continue, Sir, in your debt. In a very few days you ſhall hear from me again; and, if in what I have hitherto written, an expreſſion, or a word have eſcaped me, to give you perſonal pain or offence, I beg you to believe it very far from my intention.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your very humble, and

No. 80, Marlborough-ſtreet, Obedient Servant,

20th December, 1792. PEMBERTON RUDD.

POSTSCRIPT.

POSTSCRIPT.

I cannot be prevailed on to let this go to the Preſs, without, (though it is travelling beyond the regular order I had preſcribed to myſelf,) without giving you ſome ſhort hint of my ſentiments and feelings, when I read your very unkind and unmerited aſperſions, on thoſe glorious and patriotic characters, (the founders, in fact, of the Iriſh conſtitution, as the YEOMANRY ſince have been its Saviours,) I mean the original Volunteers of 1779 and 1782. That it may not be thought that I could miſtake, miſ-ſtate, or miſ-repreſent your true meaning, I tranſcribe the whole paſſage. It is in the 48th page of your work, where ſpeaking on the peculiar

liar aptitude of a ſeaſon, (ſuch as this) of irritations and of turbulence, as beſt ſuited to the introduction of conſtitutional innovations, becauſe readieſt offering the means to rivet them upon us; you deliver your opinion in theſe explicit and *extraordinary* terms:—

" As to a time of war, it is true, that the Vo-
" lunteers took advantage of the embarraſſments
" of Great Britain, in the laſt war, to aſſert the
" independence of our parliament. It is likewiſe
" true, that the United Iriſhmen, in the preſent
" war, have taken advantage of the ſuppoſed
" weakneſs of Great Britain, to play the game of
" ſeparation. When, therefore, enemies of the
" Empire take advantage of a time of war and
" embarraſſment, to effect its ruin, we ſhould turn
" againſt them their own game, and make uſe of
" a time of war to eſtabliſh its ſecurity."

Here is a propoſition moſt logically conſtructed with two premiſes and a concluſion. Premiſes how incongruous! how monſtrous the concluſion! The original Volunteers of Ireland are here made to correſpond and agree, and are put in moſt pointed

pointed appoſition to the horde of convicted, or confeſſed traitors, the United Iriſhmen of 1798: their actions are deſcribed in terms as injurious as any Johnſon or Sheridan could furniſh; "*to take advantage,*" is appropriate to ſwindlers and robbers; "*to aſſert,*" as it is here uſed, infers unjuſt aſſumption, and inſinuates unfounded claim. The ſecond ſentence, deſignates the United Iriſhmen by preciſely the ſame expreſſion beſtowed upon the Volunteers. "*The United Iriſhmen in the preſent war—the Volunteers in the laſt war*"—both *have taken advantage.* It is an unlucky phraſe; and little mended by occurring yet a third time in the concluſion. "*When, therefore, enemies of the empire take advantage,*" &c. Enemies of the empire! Who? What enemies? And of what empire? Is it the original Volunteers of Ireland, enemies! Is it thoſe very men to whom you yourſelf, then an Officer of the Houſe of Commons, did in the Seſſion of 1782, tranſmit, at leaſt, TRANSCRIBE, the unanimous thanks of the Parliament of Ireland, for being the ſteady Friends and Soldiers of their country—The glorious founders of our Independency and Conſtitution! Are theſe

the

the enemies you mean? Are theſe the men you now ſay were "*effecting the ruin*" of their country? Are theſe the "*gameſters*," againſt whom you propoſe "*we ſhould turn*" and unite? Who is meant by WE? Who *can* be meant? Not the United Iriſhmen: they are alſo players of the ſame game you ſay; not the corporate bodies of Ireland; not the Houſes of Parliament of Ireland: they have all recorded their ſentiments, their approbation, and their thanks: not the Merchants of Ireland, they enjoy that very "Free Trade" the Volunteers procured them: not the Lawyers of Ireland, they know their conſtitution, and they love it; and when they entered the profeſſion, Sir, they ſwore to KEEP it: not the Yeomanry of Ireland, they armed to protect, ſecure, and improve, what the Volunteers armed to aſſert, eſtabliſh, and maintain. There is not then, (and I am proud to ſay it!) there is not then in ALL Ireland, one ſingle rank, claſs, or deſcription of men, to whom your *patriotic* exhortation is, or can be applicable. As you have choſen *Engliſh* arguments, you muſt ſelect an *Engliſh* audience, and you are SURE of pleaſing. As to us, leave us, for God's ſake, as you found us. We have been in a fever, the criſis is paſt, and we are

mending; do not *bleed* or *phyſic* us into a *conſumption*, and all may be well yet. Our *Conſtitution* is not *ſo* bad as *you* would make it.

In my next, (for poſitively I am juſt concluding,) you ſhall have the thoughts of an unambitious man, upon that part of your pamphlet, in which you exult, not a little, at the wholeſome curb and reſtrictive effect of an Union; in detaching young barriſters from political purſuits: chaining them like *clerks* and ſcriveners to their deſks, and putting an effectual ſtop to thoſe *impudent* ſtrides by which they are ſo apt to *thruſt* themſelves into the Houſe of Commons: not forgetting to ſuggeſt to you one trifling omiſſion which you made in your catalogue of advantages, that are to accrue to ſuitors, after an Union, in having their cauſes argued and managed by lawyers, who will, *then*, no longer have their brains bewildered with political ſpeculations: but you ſtrangely forgot to mention the great additional advantage which the ſaid ſuitors muſt derive from the RE-TRANSPORTATION of the APPELLANT JURISDICTION: whereby they will have their cauſes *finally* decided on, in a much ſhorter, quicker, eaſier, and leſs expenſive manner,

no

no doubt, at the Bar of the Britiſh Houſe of Lords, than they could poſſibly have at home here in the capital of their own county: Not to mention its being a fooliſh, gaudy feather in the cap of the Iriſh Conſtitution, with which we dreſſed ourſelves ſo giddily in 1781. I think I remember an illumination when the Appellant Juriſdiction was brought home to us: it will be perfectly in character to illuminate again, when it ſhall be taken away, away for EVER, by the conſummation of an Iriſh Union, one and indiviſible!

P. R.

FINIS.

AN

ADDRESS

TO THE

PEOPLE OF IRELAND,

AGAINST AN

UNION:

IN WHICH,

A PAMPHLET

ENTITLED

ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST THAT MEASURE,

IS CONSIDERED.

BY A FRIEND TO IRELAND.

The King shall drink to Hamlet's better breath,
And in the cup, an UNION shall he throw.

SHAKESPEARE.—*Hamlet, Act. 5. Sc. 5.*

—DUBLIN:—

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1799.

AN

ADDRESS

TO THE

PEOPLE of IRELAND,

AGAINST AN

UNION.

AN incorporate Union with England, will in all probability be propoſed, at the meeting of parliament.

The diſcuſſion of the queſtion has been invited by a pamphlet written, if report ſpeaks truth, by a perſon who holds a diſtinguiſhed official ſituation in the preſent adminiſtration. The manner in which he ſtates the queſtion in his prefatory pages, is in my mind moſt impolitic. The abſtract right of two independent nations, of incorporating, or even continuing in a ſtate of ſeparation, as beſt ſuits their mutual convenience, can never be doubted.

The inſtance given of the Sabines incorporating with the Romans, and the Dutch provinces ſhaking off the yoke of Spaniſh tyranny, equally provoke an examination, not only of the advantages and diſadvantages of an Union with, but of a ſeparation from England for ever. To ſtart ſuch a queſtion, even by implication, would, at any time, be unneceſſary, and at the preſent time is dangerous.

England and Ireland governed by the ſame Sovereign—an act of parliament eſtabliſhing, that whoever is King of England, is, *ipſo facto*, King of Ireland, bear no analogy to unconnected nations. And why the example of the Dutch, rouſed to reſiſtance by the cruel oppreſſion of Alva, has been ſelected on the preſent occaſion, let the writer who brought it forward anſwer the queſtion.

I will not meddle with the queſtion of ſeparation, but endeavour to prove to the beſt of my ability, and, I hope, to the conviction of the country, that our preſent connexion with Great Britain, is far preferable to any incorporate Union.

Among the plauſible reaſons in favour of an Union, are the vices of our own government. They are ſo broadly and boldly ſtated by the writer,

writer, that I ſuppoſe he has obtained by anticipation, the nolle proſequi of the Attorney General: "That the counſels of our government are framed "in the Britiſh Cabinet; that the patronage of the "crown is diſtributed by an Engliſh Lord Lieu-"tenant of Ireland; that our parliament is notori-"ouſly ſubject to Engliſh influence."

Admitting theſe facts, our complaint is, that the intereſts of Ireland are not ſufficiently protected by three hundred Iriſh gentlemen in Dublin. The miſchief then is to be remedied by ſending ſixty or one hundred to London, and the integrity of Iriſh repreſentatives is to improve in proportion to the diminution of their numbers, and their removal from the obſervation of their conſtituents!

We are told that, ſituated as we are at preſent, Britiſh intereſt will always be preferred. If by Britiſh intereſt, is meant the *true* intereſt of the Britiſh empire, which is beſt promoted, by promoting the intereſt of every part, which by creating internal ſtrength, gives external power; the cultivation of *that intereſt*, by an Iriſh legiſlature, will never excite the diſcontent of the Iriſh nation. But if Britiſh intereſt is the facility of commencing and carrying on wars, which, under-

taken

taken in injuſtice, continued in folly, terminate in diſgrace; the happineſs and proſperity, not only of the Britiſh empire, but of the human race, will be promoted, in proportion as perſonal paſſion or falſe ambition will find it difficult to involve mankind in ſuch great calamity. Or ſhould Britiſh intereſt be what I am afraid it is at the preſent day, the ſtupid, ſhort-ſighted intereſt of the Engliſh landholder, which imagines the value of his eſtate encreaſed, as the values of thoſe around him are diminiſhed; the narrow ſelf-intereſt of an Engliſh merchant or manufacturer, which would monopolize the trade and commerce of the world; that wretched ſelf-intereſt, which hates the proſperity of a rival, and is pained at the ſucceſs of a friend; the greater the ſecurity againſt the operation of ſuch an intereſt, the greater our advantage.

It may be objected, that after an Union, this intereſt will ceaſe to operate. I deny the aſſertion; the Union will not change the Engliſh landholders, merchants; and manufacturers, into philoſophic Stateſmen, and the reaſons which ſhould induce the Britiſh miniſter to promote the intereſts of Ireland, as by ſo doing, he promotes the real intereſt of the empire, are equally ſtrong before and after an Union. The truth is, no miniſter, even in the moſt

moſt deſpotic countries, can reſiſt the prejudices of the people he governs: And in the year 1779, the wiſdom of Lord North alone could never have granted, what the high tone of the Iriſh legiſlature, and the impoſing appearance of the Iriſh people, extorted from the prudence of the Engliſh nation. The city of Briſtol diſcarded Edmund Burke, becauſe he was *juſt* to Ireland. The Eleven Commercial Propoſitions were too beneficial to be conceded, and were, at the petition of the Merchants and Manufacturers of England, changed into the twenty-four, which we rejected as injurious and diſgraceful.——Ireland is at this moment as much an integral part of the empire as ſhe would be after an Union, and it is now as much the real intereſt of Britain to promote her intereſt as it would be then. I confeſs, if England were a deſpotic Monarchy, and that the King made the law, I ſhould have much leſs objection to the extinction of our Legiſlature than at preſent. The Prince has no reaſon to prefer the proſperity of one part of his Dominions to another—Their riches are his riches, their power is his power.

The dependencies of free States are always more illiberally governed, than thoſe of an arbitary Monarch; * and Mr. Hume, forty years ago, when

* Hume's Eſſay, Politics a Science, 8vo. ed. p. 19.

Ireland

Ireland was controuled by the Britiſh Legiſlature, and had no free trade, illuſtrated the poſition, by comparing the then ſtate of Ireland, with the conquered provinces of the French Monarchy. But it is ſaid, that Ireland by incorporating with England is not reduced to a ſtate of vaſſalage, but raiſed to equality, and that the Union is a partnerſhip. It is indeed a partnerſhip, of which, if the articles are infringed, Ireland has no redreſs.

We well know that public bodies are rarely influenced by juſtice; whoever poſſeſſes power will uſe it to promote the intereſt to which he is moſt attached; and whenever Iriſh and Engliſh intereſts come in competition, it is eaſy to ſee which would be favoured. To ſay ſuch a queſtion can never ariſe, is abſurd. We ſee the intereſts of different parts of England frequently in competition with each other, and the intereſt of the whole kingdom often injured, not only by an injudicious preference of one part to another, but in ſacrificing the intereſts of all England to that of London. The reſpective ſituation of the countries, and the ſimilarity of their produce will always produce a rivalſhip in various branches of trade and manufactures. Would Ireland fare better in a Britiſh Legiſlature than different parts of England?

Let

Let their difference be ſettled by a treaty, and let Ireland keep her own Legiſlature to enſure its obſervance.

England can only violate the treaty by hoſtile acts of her own Parliament, or by corrupting ours—The firſt will be attended with danger though not always with ſucceſs; future Iriſh Parliaments may as former ones have already done, reduce the Engliſh to *repeal* ſuch laws. With reſpect to influence, will twenty Lords, and ſixty Commoners in Weſtminſter, be leſs liable to be influenced than the whole body of the Iriſh Legiſlature in Dublin? But on any queſtion where Britiſh is oppoſed to Iriſh intereſt, the Britiſh will have a majority; to corrupt will be unneceſſary. The Iriſh Members if they are diſpoſed to proteſt their country, will be told there is no ſuch thing as Iriſh intereſt, that all is Britiſh intereſt; and of that, the majority of the Britiſh Parliament are the beſt judges.

Poſtlethwait *, an eminent commercial writer, when thirty years ago adviſing England to an Union, told them that it by no means followed from an Union, that Ireland ſhould enjoy equal liberty of trade with England, that the facility of regulating, and controuling Iriſh commerce would be encreaſed

* Vide Poſtlethwait's Commercial Intereſts of Great Britain, where an Union of the countries is conſidered, vol. 1.

when the diſtinct legiſlature of Ireland was extinguiſhed, and a few Iriſh Members placed in the Britiſh Senate. He ſpoke from experience :* twice in the firſt ſeven years after the Union with Scotland. The Scotch Lords and Commoners, united in ſupport of two important articles of the treaty, and vainly attempted to defend Scotch law and Scotch property in a Britiſh Senate. Since that period, with the exception of two or three individuals, the Members from Scotch Britain, convinced of the impoſſibility of ſerving their country, have uniformly with a characteriſtic ſagacity determined to ſerve themſelves, *and where the Miniſter is, there are they alſo.*

A National Legiſlature is a powerful check on the executive officers of government, and the miniſters of juſtice. When men know that their conduct will be canvaſſed in the place where they live, by the men whom they daily meet, and with whom they daily converſe, they are cautious; they know though influence may prevent puniſhment, yet it cannot prevent examination. To ſhield public delinquency is an unpleaſing taſk to any government. To want ſuch protection leſſens the intereſt

*. In the inſtances of the law of Treaſon, and the Malt law.

of

of the offenders with their employer. But if the conduct of ſuch men can only be examined in an Aſſembly reſiding in another country, among thoſe, with the majority of whom they are little connected, not at all acquainted, the reſtraint will be ſmall indeed. Should an enquiry be inſtituted, a ſtatement of facts may be oppoſed by contradictory aſſertions difficult to be refuted from the greatneſs of the diſtance, and the length of the time elapſed. To accuſe is, at beſt, but an invidious office, it requires great incentives. A ſtrong ſenſe of duty may prompt a man to undertake it. A love of popularity. But at a diſtance from the ſcene of action, that warm indignation raiſed by having been an eye-witneſs of injuſtice, or the ſufferer of wrong is ſeldom excited, and the proſecution of the ſubordinate officer of a province creating little intereſt at the ſeat of empire, offers no harveſt to ambitious talents. In ſuch caſes the probability is, that the accuſed will not only to be protected, but juſtified. Ireland and Scotland exhibit two ſtrong inſtances of theſe truths. A Judge, in one of our Courts, held a man to exceſſive bail; he was only not cenſured. And the country was ſaved from the repetition of ſuch an act. In Scotland two ſentences of the Court of Juſticiary were conſidered, by ſome of the ableſt of the Scotch Bar, as contradictory to the law of

Scotland, as holding a man to exceſſive bail, is to the law of England. The eloquence of Fox only rendered more conſpicuous the miſery of not having a National Legiſlature, for the Scotch Judges were applauded and juſtified by a Britiſh Parliament.

Our Parliament may have improperly ſacrificed the intereſt of Ireland to that of England; they may have raiſed more money from the people than they ought; they may have loaded themſelves and others with places and penſions: yet their vote on the appropriation of the ſurplus revenue, their octennial bill, the free trade, the repeal of Poyning's law, the repeal of the 6th of Geo. 1ſt, the act of renunciation. The money that has been granted, from time to time, for the erection of public buildings, for the improvement of barren lands, for the making of canals; are ſtrong features of their being an Iriſh Parliament.

If the ſervices of the Iriſh Ligiſlature bear no proportion their demerits—If they are that venal body, which they are called by the writer: by whom have they been corrupted? By Britain. And ſhall we permit Britain to take advantage of her own wrong? Shall Britain who has corrupted our Parliament

liament to a baſe compliance with Britiſh intereſt, (not the real intereſt of the Britiſh Empire), but the ſelfiſh intereſt of illiberal landholders, avaricious merchants and manufactures; ſhall ſhe reap the fruits of her own baſeneſs, and force you to an Union to promote that falſe intereſt, which if purſued much longer will inevitably accompliſh her ruin? Shall ſhe after having betrayed the Parliament almoſt to their own undoing, reduced the country into a ſituation, in which paſſion is principle, and prejudice is reaſon, operating on the avarice and timidity of one part of the community, and the indignant reſentment of the other, make both concur in the annihilation of their independence, and the deſtruction of their country. *I have put the queſtion—I do not fear the anſwer.*

The queſtion of Union ſtands on a very different ground from what it did thirty years ago. At that period the aſcribed effects of the Union like the touch of the enchanter's wand, were to change the whole face of the country. Our fields were to echo with the whiſtle of the ploughman—The hum of the loom, and the ſhuttle were to be heard in our ſtreets—Our rivers was to be lined with warehouſes—The ſea was to be covered with our ſhips—And we were to ſhare in the commerce and Conſti-

tution

nation of Britain. We then had a controuling Engliſh parliament, a legiſlating privy-council, a ſenate, the members of which never returned into the body of the people, except by the exertion of royal prerogative, or the death of the Sovereign, which had no command over the public purſe: a king's letter being ſufficient to draw any ſum from the treaſury. We had not a habeas corpus act, and we had dependent judges; ſuch was our conſtitution—trade, and manufacture, we had none, except the muking and exporting linen cloth. Our woollen manufacture was nearly extinguiſhed, and only ſupplied a trifling part of domeſtic conſumption. We could neither ſend woollen cloth to England or the Continent, and our ſurplus, raw wool, was either exported to Britain, or ſmuggled into France and Holland: What have we now? An octennial Houſe of Commons, a legiſlature, uncontrouled either by a Britiſh parliament, or an Iriſh privy-council; a reſponſible Treaſury-board, a limited penſion-liſt, an unreſtricted trade—and all without an union.

Experience has demonſtrated that even then, an Union would have been too great a price for theſe advantages. What has England now to offer? Nothing but the regulation of the channel trade.

To

To what are theſe conceſſions of England to be aſcribed? Is it to that enlightened policy which dictates, that the advancement of the intereſt of each part, is the promotion of the true intereſt of the whole Empire? Or is it to that prudence which in oppoſition to a narrow ſhort-ſighted intereſt, complied with a demand, which at the time it was unſafe, to reſiſt? Attribute them to either cauſe, you cannot draw an inference in favour of an Union. If to the former, ſound policy will in a ſhort time produce an equitable ſettlement of what remains to be adjuſted; if to the latter, an Union is ſo far from inducing an equitable ſettlement of theſe points, will the better enable England to re-aſſume what ſhe has already granted. And let the articles of the Union be as beneficial as the warmeſt Iriſh heart can deſire; the examples which have been given of Scotland demonſtrate, that the treaty will be obſerved or infringed as beſt ſuits Britiſh intereſt.

I ſhall now endeavour to prove, that in the preſent ſtate of the connection of the two countries, it is the real intereſt of England to cultivate Iriſh proſperity. Ireland has been well ſtyled, *the brighteſt jewel* in the Britiſh crown. If Ireland was to paſs into the hands of any other power, England could not long ſuſtain her ſituation in Europe.

rope. Ireland almoſt coſtly victuals the navy of England, and ſupplies a third of her ſoldiers and ſailors; her inſular ſituation, and the martial ſpirit of her numerous population, would be powerful inſtruments in the hands of a rival, for the deſtruction of Britiſh commerce, and Britiſh liberty; and I cannot help thinking, though the diſſolution of the connection would be highly prejudicial to their mutual intereſts, that England would experience the greater injury. She muſt either hold Ireland by force or affection; if by the firſt, the poſſeſſion is not only uſeleſs but burthenſome; commerce is incompatible with a military government. New inhabitants will not come to ſuch a country, the old will emigrate. The principle of a commercial monopoly of one country againſt the whole world, or againſt her different dependencies, is proved by the beſt writers on political œconomy, to be falſe; it produces a temporary proſperity; by acquiring the command of the market, it can put its own price on commodities, and levy an exhibitant profit. Domeſtic expenſive eſtabliſhments and ambitious projects, are the conſequences of unnatural gain, and in time, ſhe is underſold by foreign countries. The greatneſs of her expenditure renders her unable to lower the price of her goods; her cuſtomers for ſome time continue to deal with

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her from habit, though they may be more cheaply ſupplied elſewhere. At length ſhe is beaten out of every market—her oppreſſed dependencies have neither the inclination nor ability to aſſiſt her; they rejoice in her fall, and ſhe ſinks—never to riſe again. Nothing but a timely departure from ſuch a principle, can ſave the country which has adopted it from ruin.

I will now ſhew the former conduct of England to Ireland, to have been equally deſtructive to Britiſh and Iriſh intereſt. In the reign of Charles II. the parliament prohibited the importation of Iriſh cattle into England. What was the conſequence? It gave a monopoly to a few breeding counties, of butchers meat, which encreaſing the price of proviſions, raiſed the price of labour, made goods dearer; and theſe goods going to a foreign market, at an artificial value, were undersold by the ſame goods of other countries; which, from the greater cheapneſs of labour, were diſpoſed of at their natural value: leſs money being brought into the country by foreign trade, the home conſumption, ſunk in price.* Ireland, at firſt reduced to great diſtreſs, turned her induſtry into another channel; ſhe began to make butter, and to fatten cattle for the beeftrade; and theſe proviſions, exported to other countries, encreaſed the ability of foreigners to underſell the Engliſh manufacturers. She cultivated the breed of ſheep, and under the patronage of the great Duke of Ormond, whoſe memory every

* Vide Sir Matthew Decker, alſo Poſtlethwaite's Com. Int.

Iriſhman ſhould adore, the Woollen manufacture was planted.

In thirty years, our improvement was ſo rapid, that Engliſh jealouſy was excited, and William, at the revolution, was obliged to promiſe to diſcourage the Iriſh Woollen manufacture. Bills were paſſed to prevent the exportation of woollen cloth to England, or any part of the world; and England ſecured to herſelf a monopoly of the Iriſh raw wool. With the ſame perſecuting ſpirit, we were excluded from the American and Weſt Indian trades. Rum was the only article we could import from the Weſt Indies, in return for the commodities we ſent there, without firſt landing it in England. It was the only exception in a long liſt of goods enumerated by ſeveral Engliſh acts of parliament. Well might it be ſaid in the letters of Guatimozin, "that you could trace Ireland through "the ſtatute-book of England, by penal law, as "a wounded in a croud was tracked by his blood." Did England profit by theſe wiſe regulations? By the firſt, twenty thouſand Iriſh manufacturers were obliged to ſeek for bread in foreign countries, and carried along with them their art. The French finding it neceſſary to mix Iriſh wool with their own, gave for it a better price than England. An immenſe quantity was annually ſmuggled into France, and ſhe underſold Britain in ſeveral branches of that manufacture. At length, a ſmuggling trade affording uncertain profit, and the manufacturer having

* Written by the late Dr. Frederick Jebb.

no

no ſecond market. The Iriſh ſheep diminiſhed, and England loſt her profit on manufacturing the Iriſh wool. Her American and Weſt Indian excluſions availed her as little. Ireland paid annually to France, for molaſſes and ſugar, 150,000*l.* and until the direct importation of pitch, tar, &c. was permitted, we paid every year to foreigners, 100,000*l.** for theſe articles. By the free trade of 1779, we have acquired a free exportation to all countries, of our woollen manufactures, England excepted. This, though not of the ſame advantage, as it would have been forty or fifty years ago, will, at a future day, revive our loſt woollen trade. And I have been informed by perſons converſant in theſe matters, that it has much improved ſince the year 1779. We now enjoy the Weſt Indian trade, on the ſame terms as England: we import into Ireland on the ſame terms they import into England, and our draw-back is exactly the ſame on exporting Weſt Indian goods to England, that there is on exporting Weſt Indian goods to Ireland. If there is an Union, can England give you the Weſt Indian trade on better terms than you have it already? In regulating the channel trade, will ſhe permit a competition between Iriſh and Engliſh woollens, in the Britiſh market? If ſhe did (which † is not to be expected) from not doing more at preſent

* Vide Poſtlethwaite.

† Certainly ſhe never will, for it was once propoſed to England, in order to revive the Iriſh woollen manufacture, the decline of which was alike pernicious to both coun-

preſent than is ſufficient for a ſmall home demand, it would be uſeleſs. We have now no ſuperfluous raw wool; we have rather leſs than our internal wants require; and the price of wool, on account of its ſcarcity, is much riſen in the home market. We may be certain that England will not exclude her own woollen goods from the Iriſh market, by agreeing to protecting duties, in favour of ours. In other branches of manufacture will ſhe conſent to protecting duties? An Iriſh Parliament may at a future period grant Iriſh manufactures protecting duties. But if ſuch duties were conceded to obtain an Union, no Britiſh Parliament would continue them contrary to Britiſh intereſt, notwithſtanding the oppoſition a few Iriſh Members might make to their repeal. I have already ſtated that the Scotch law of treaſon was altered, and the malt tax impoſed on Scotland in violation of the Union, in deſpite of the unanimous exertions of the Scotch Members in both Houſes. Open ports, mutual equality*, are then

to

tries, to permit, on paying a large duty, the importation of Iriſh woollens into England; which duty was to be drawn back on exportation from England to foreign countries.

Vide Poſtlethwaite's commercial intereſts of Great Britain.

This was the mode which occurred to that writer, of encouraging the Iriſh woollens, without permitting them to come in competition with the Engliſh, in the Britiſh market. We can now export them to any other country but to England.

* Except in the article of Iriſh woollens, which I think I have ſhewn in a former note, England will never permit entering her country free from duty, or in any way in which

they

to be the baſis of the treaty. This would be real inequality. From the largeneſs of capital, and the improvements in machinery, the Britiſh manufacturer can at this moment underſell the Iriſh manufacturer in the Iriſh market. When the trifling duties on the importation of Engliſh goods are removed, his ability to do ſo will be ſtill improved The ſame cauſes will enable the Engliſh to underſell the Iriſh in foreign markets. Will Britiſh capital and Britiſh improvement migrate to Ireland for the command of markets they already poſſeſs?

Admitting that ſomewhat more money might be made, nothing is more difficult to move than trade and manufacture. They continue in the channel in which they have been accuſtomed to flow, for a long time after the cauſe of their firſt direction has ceaſed to operate. Add to theſe things the deep rooted prejudice which thoſe claſſes of men who compoſe in England the merchants, the manufacturers, and the people employed by them feel, againſt Ireland, and the probability of Britiſh capital fixing in this kingdom is ſtill more diminiſhed. But ſuppoſing, for a moment, that the Union is to give us great commercial capability, which I think I have ſhewn will not be the caſe, we muſt, no doubt,

they can poſſibly vie with her woollens in her home market. Even if ſhe would, Ireland would reap, at this moment, little advantage, on account of the preſent ſtate of her woollen manufacture. And whoever attentively conſiders the detailed reaſoning of theſe pages, will ſee, that we may expect to obtain it one day without an Union.

pay

pay our quota to the expence of the empire. We obtained great advantages in 1779, without taxation. Did Britiſh capital then flow into the country? If commercial capability, unpurchaſed by taxation, did not bring Britiſh capital into the country, will it when clogged by taxation? And if unburthened, it brought capital into the country, does it prove that it will do ſo when incumbered. We have for one hundred and forty years enjoyed the Linen manufacture to as much advantage as we can poſſibly do any other manufacture after an Union. How much Britiſh capital has been employed in it? Not a ſhilling. From the moment of its firſt introduction from the Low Countries, down to the preſent day, it has been carried on by capital, acquired by Iriſh induſtry, originally excited, by encouragement, from the Iriſh Government. We owe nothing to England. She made her choice, ſhe gave us the Linen and reſerved the Woollen manufacture. And at this day ſhe takes no more of Iriſh Linen, than is conſiſtent with her intereſts. In thoſe branches in which Holland and Germany excel, ſhe gives them the preference. And if the duties on theſe foreign Linens are 37 per cent in our favour, if ſhe gives a bounty of three halfpence per yard on the exportation of Iriſh Linens of a particular value to foreign countries. We give her Woollens the excluſive preference in our home market; for from no other country do we import Woollen goods. The threat of withdrawing the bounty and laying on duties, held out by the writer, is nugatory. Let her do ſo. She muſt ſtill take our Linens as thoſe ſhe takes from Ireland, ſhe can

not

not get elſewhere. She would only encreaſe the price of linen to her own people. If the manufacturer pays more for his ſhirt, he muſt get a better price for his labour. The article on which his labours is employed is ſold at a dearer rate; therefore there is a greater chance of its being beaten out of the foreign market. England has no linen manufacture worth mentioning. We could do better without her woolens, than ſhe could without our linens. We have it always in our powers to make her liſten to reaſon on that point by laying a heavy duty on her woollens.

If England has not corn ſufficient for her ſubſiſtence, ſhe will not refuſe to purchaſe from Ireland, to preſerve herſelf from famine, merely becauſe we are ſo abſurd as to reject an Union; though ſhe ſwears it is for her good. She deigned during the preſent war to purchaſe from America, who ſucceſsfully rebelled againſt her authority. If Ireland can ſupply her on better terms than other countries, ſhe will deal with her, with or without an Union; and if not, England in no ſituation will commit the egregious folly of buying proviſions dear, when ſhe can buy them cheap. If Ireland can ſell on equal terms, ſo long as our preſent connection ſubſiſts, it is her intereſt to give us the preference.

There is an hackneyed negative kind of argument frequently uſed, viz. though Dublin would be injured, yet the South would be improved, and Cork and Waterford materially ſerved. This is partly true, and partly falſe. Dublin would be injured, but theſe towns would not now be ſerved. Cork

Cork and Waterford, lying favourably for the American and West-Indian trade, were the privilege of directly importing into Ireland, the returns of the cargoes exported from hence to America and the West-Indies, not to be acquired without an Union, the argument would avail. In 1779 this was obtained.* Having ſhewn that without an Union we have obtained commercial advantages, which forty years ago would have been conſidered as an equivalent for one, and as we can only reaſon about the future, from a knowledge of the paſt, I infer that we ſhould reject an Union. We ſhall not gain any ſhare in the Eaſt-India trade as a Nation, and as individuals we have an equal capacity with every Engliſhman and Scotchman of purchaſing India ſtock. I have proved that the real intereſts of Britain call for an equitable ſettlement of what remains to be adjuſted between the two countries, independent of an Union. That if ſhe will not conſult the real intereſt of the empire before an Union, ſhe will not do it after one. That in the latter caſe ſhe can more eaſily ſacrifice the real intereſt of Ireland to her own falſe ſelfiſh intereſt, when both countries have but one legiſlature; that we have a better chance of the channel trade being fairly regulated by keeping our own Parliament. That if the terms of the Union ſhould be advantageous to the country, (which in

* As to a dock-yard being eſtabliſhed at Cork after an Union: If it is the intereſt of England to do ſo? Why not do it now? And if it is not her intereſt. She will not do it then.

all probability they will not) Scotland proves we have no ſecurity againſt their violation. I therefore aſſert, that we ſhall not gain commercial benefits from an Union.

Abſentee landlords, middle men, rack rents, and tithes are the great bane of Ireland; I know nothing to prevent our own Legiſlature from eſtabliſhing a modus for tithes, making ſome proviſion for the Roman Catholic Clergy; and enlarging the bounty of the Crown to Diſſenting Miniſters; nor can I perceive the indiſpenſible neceſſity of theſe meaſures being accompanied by an Union. The beſt informed men on the ſtate of Ireland, calculate the money, drawn out of the country by abſentees, at two millions. Will men reſide in a country in proportion as the inducement is diminiſhed? What affection can they feel for a tenantry, of whom, they know nothing but from the repreſentations of a reſident oppreſſive ſteward; conveyed through the medium of an Engliſh agent, whoſe conſtant inſtruction is, to take care that the rent is paid to the very day! Are there not ſome Engliſh eſtates in this country, where punctuality of remittance, being the tenure by which the agent holds his employment, there is a continual cant held upon the lands, of the goods of the unfortunate cultivators of the ſoil, between whom and the head-landlord, frequently, two or three perſons intervene?

The drain ariſing from abſentees will be encreaſed, and the drain of taxation added. Admitting, for the ſake of argument, that the Union would give commercial capability, its purchaſe would be

new taxes. The acquirements of commerce are gradual, the burthens of taxation immediate. To improve a country by making impoſts precede wealth, is moſt prepoſterous: and calls to mind, the ingenious architect in Gulliver's voyage to Laputa, who contrived a new method of building houſes by beginning at the roof, and working downward to the foundation.

The reſidence of men of large fortune in a country, is attended with great advantage; if you paſs through a county where the men of property, for the moſt part, reſide; you will diſtinguiſh the eſtate of the abſentee by the ſqualid wretchedneſs of his tenantry, and the miſerable ſtate of cultivation. Men of property originate all improvements in agriculture; the actual farmer cannot bear the riſk. They enable him to make the experiment. Let theſe men reſide in another country. The farmer no longer encouraged by the flattering praiſe of a man of rank; and not receiving the aſſiſtance of his fortune to indemnify him for incurred loſs, will have no motive to ſuch undertakings.

The writer has declared that our abſentees will not be encreaſed. and that the abſentees from Scotland, were not augmented after the Union. In this he is miſtaken; every Scotch writer of eminence, acknowledges the encreaſe of abſentees, as one of its unavoidable evils. I admit, her abſentees bear little proportion to the abſentees of Ireland, and ſtill leſs, to what they will do, after the Union. Large fortunes in Scotland are not ſo numerous as in Ireland: a great part of her lands, are held by perſons from

three

three to five hundred pounds a year income: ſuch ſmall eſtates require the conſtant reſidence and active attention of their proprietors, and do not permit emigration. After an Union, all the large fortunes, all the talented poverty of the country, will depart. And wealth, and genius, the great ſources of national agrandiſement, will be loſt to Ireland. Our riches will center in Britain, and we ſhall retain no more ſpecie, than will be ſufficient to pay the wages of the labouring part of the community. Long before the banks ceaſed to pay in coin, you might have travelled, from one end of Scotland to the other, without ſeeing a guinea. In ſome places, there are bank notes for a crown, and I am well informed, even for a much ſmaller ſum. The ſpecie of Scotland, at the time of the Union, was rated at one million. It is not now more than one fifth of that amount. Has Scotland found in the Britiſh Legiſlature, the foſtering hand of a natural parent, or the neglect of a ſtep mother? The ſcheme of uniting the Firth of Forth, and the Firth of Clyde by a canal, was firſt conceived in the reign of Charles II; the Scotch had then a ſeparate Parliament: it was often reſumed, and often laid aſide. No aſſiſtance was given by the government: a few ſpirited individuals embarked in the project; when they wanted about five miles of its completion, they were obliged to ſtop, on account of the difficulty of the ſoil. The capital was ſpent, and in that ſtate, it remained a number of years. The merchants of Glaſgow have ſince finiſhed it. But I do not find from its commencement, to its accompliſhment, that it was ever aſſiſted with a ſingle ſhilling from

* Vide Poſtle Thwaytes Com. Int. Gt. Brt. v. I. p. 204, 232.

the Britiſh Treaſury. A cut acroſs the Iſthmus of Cantyre, would ſhorten the voyage from the Hebrides to the main land, by one hundred miles; and prevent the neceſſity to the Herring buſſes, of a dangerous paſſage round the Mull. In bad weather they are frequently obliged to run into harbour, and from the delay, the profits of the voyage are loſt to the proprietors. About twelve miles farther, to the N. W. are two fine lochs, which might be united at the expence of 17,000l. To cut acroſs the Iſthmus of Cantyre would require 34,00l. The conſcientious economy of a Britiſh Legiſlature, cannot afford to ſquander 51,000l. on Scotch improvement. The* ſame body promiſed fifty ſhillings a ton bounty to the ſhipping engaged in the fiſhery. It was withheld from year to year. It was then reduced to, thirty ſhillings; and Adam Smith† proves the whole is, under a management, at variance with true political economy. In the firſt inſtance, what can be ſaid for the good faith? In the ſecond, if Smith is right, what can be ſaid for the wiſdom of the Britiſh Legiſlature? And why, ſhould Ireland yield the management of her concerns, to ſuch honeſty, and ſuch talents? If Scotland has received ſuch wonderful improvement from the Union, why are ſo great a proportion of her peaſantry ſoldiers? Why do ſo many of her middle and upper ranks, embrace the military profeſſion *as the means of ſubſiſtance?* A thing, not even in the imagination of an Iriſhman and Engliſhman. Why are ſo many of her ſons fortune-making in England—in Ireland? Why are they inſinuating themſelves into all the claſſes of ſociety in every country

* For the above mentioned account of Scotland, vide Guthies Geog. 5th ed. 4to. Lon. 1792.

† Smith's Wealth of Nations, vol. 2. p. 14 to 19.

country in Europe? Why are they freezing at the poles, and burning at the equator, in the purſuit of that ſubſiſtence which their country is unable to afford? What ſays Anderſon of Scotland? He repreſents her, notwithſtanding the Union, in the ſickly ſtate of a hot-houſe plant, which requires the moſt careful attention of the moſt ſkilful gardener; and ſeriouſly adviſes England to withdraw her attention from India, and adict herſelf to the cultivation of Scotland; a ſtrong proof, no doubt, of Engliſh attention to Scotch improvement.* At the time of the Union, the lords of the articles reſembled a Legiſlating Privy Council. They prepared all the buſineſs for Parliament; they were notoriouſly under the management of the Court, ſo that the Parliament was in general effectually controuled. The Lords ſat in one houſe with the Commons; and the Crown having the power of creating Peers, the Commons were as duſt in the balance. Yet on ſome occaſions, the Lords of the Articles, the Parliament, and the People were in uniſon.

In the interval between the Revolution and the Union, the Scotch exhibited judgment, ſpirit, and talents. Their Darien expedition, their African company, evince wiſe commercial enterprize. And their Parliamentary eloquence, proves how much even ſuch an aſſembly as theirs, nurtured and matured genius.

At no period, ſays Mac Pherſon, "did Scotland abound with ſo many men of real talent. Has ſhe in an hundred years ſince, produced men like †Montroſe, Dundee and Fletcher?

* Vide his account of the Weſt of Scotland and the Hebrides.

† Montroſe lived in the time of the civil wars. He was a Royaliſt; but that vigorous character was formed in an independent nation.

A bill had been brought into Parliament, not as the writer aſſerts, that their Monarch ſhould never be the ſame perſon, as the King of England; but that the Crowns ſhould never be united, till Scotch independence was ſecured from Engliſh influence. They made but a bad bargain: Their Parliament was bought. Their Conſtitution was ſurrendered. The nation was diſcontented. Had not the victories of Marlborough prevented Lewis XIV. ſeizing the favourable moment, the Union of the countries would have effected their ſeperation. The partiſans of the houſe of Stewart, were recruited among the friends of the Revolution. And Fletcher, aſſociating the Hanoverian ſucceſſion with the degradation of his country, would have placed the Scotch Crown on the head of the Pretender.* The Union was ſo hated by the people, that the Chevalier, and his ſon Charles Edward, at their reſpective invaſions, promiſed to diſſolve it. Scotland diſcontented, broken down by two rebellions, which the Union in ſome meaſure provoked, for the firſt forty years was rather retrograde than progreſſive. The mild wiſdom of Pelham laid the foundation of her preſent improvement; ſhe was encouraged by Lord Chatham. She has experienced fifty years tranquillity. The pretenſions of the houſe of Stewart being long ſince extinguiſhed, the indignant ſpirits who felt national humiliation as individual debaſement, having periſhed on the ſcaffold, or died in obſcurity, there was nothing left to diſturb her repoſe. The literature of Scotland cannot be attributed to the Union. Long before

* Vide Mac Pherſon's Hiſt. reign of Queen Anne, vol. 2.

fore that period, Scotland was famous for claſſical and ſcientific learning. The ſmall livings of her Church, ſend her men of talents into the Univerſities, and in their new ſituation, their emoluments depending on their reputation, they are forced to exertion. It may with more propriety be ſaid, that Scotland has improved notwithſtanding the Union, than that the Union cauſed her improvement. Since the reign of Queen Anne, Ireland has improved infinitely more than Scotland. And if we had united with England at that period, no doubt our preſent improvement would be aſcribed to that meaſure. But I am certain, had Scotland been then, what Ireland is now, that even a Scotch Parliament would have rejected it with indignation. Hamilton and Fletcher would have been triumphant, and the daring, profligate treachery, which propoſed it, would have experienced the reſentment of an inſulted country.

Before arguments drawn from other countries can have weight, it will be neceſſary to ſhew, that theſe countries have benefited by the meaſure, and that *our* ſituation and *theirs* is ſo ſimilar, that what has been uſeful to them, would be to us an advantage. The ſtate of the Heptarchy was ſo inapplicable, that it were abſurd to mention it; and there is at this moment a ſtriking ſimilarity between the connexion of England and Ireland, and of the United States of America, with each other. We have each our ſeperate Legiſlatures the Union of the Crown correſponds with the controuling power of Congreſs, and preſerves the individuality of the

empire.

empire. Again, ſays the pamphlet, our ſituation, if united, would be ſimilar to Wales—and we would have no more reaſon to complain of the ſmall number of our repreſentatives, than that country, or Yorkſhire.

I ſhall meet the argument fairly. It is a loſs to both theſe places, that their intereſts are left to a body, with the majority of which they have little connection. Small portions of teritory are obliged to incorporate. It is an evil to which they muſt ſubmit. They balance advantage and loſs, though they ſuffer ſomething one way, yet they gain in another, and on the whole, they acquire more than they loſe. But, is the relative ſituation of Ireland and England, the ſame of Wales or Scotland with that country? The Iriſh channel is broader and deeper than the Tweed or the Severn. Will the Union throw a bridge between the countries, or cauſe the alternate blowing of the Eaſt and Weſt winds, to ſecure their uninterrupted intercourſe? Whatever advantage the preſent connection may have, THE POWER *who at the beginning "gathered the waters together, and made the dry land appear," has, by the interpoſition of the ocean, placed an eternal barrier againſt their Union.*

Suppoſe the 3d Edward, or the 5th Henry, had ſucceeded in their attempts on France, England might have heard much of the advantages of an incorporate Union with the French monarchy. There would have been Frenchmen in the then deputy government of England, who would have reviled her legiſlature, who would have told her, that

that London, was not even at ſo great a diſtance from Paris as Toulon, "That after the Union, her go-"vernment would be adminiſtered with more at-"tention, becauſe it would be leſs diſtracted by "the buſineſs of party and parliament, and there-"fore more impartially." Experience has demonſtrated, that this would have been nothing more than plauſible nonſenſe. What reply would the high feeling of an Engliſhman make to ſuch arguments? And what reſpect do they deſerve from a ſubject of the Britiſh empire? Since, if they prove any thing, they demonſtrate that Britain ſhould become a province of France. Iriſhmen are to ſit in the Britiſh cabinet. Ireland would receive great advantage, and, no doubt, Britiſh liberty would be greatly improved.

Will it tranquilize the country? No. It will encreaſe, rather than calm the diſcontent of the people, and will create diſcontent in the gentry.

The promiſes addreſſed to the Proteſtants and Catholics, are ſo much at variance, and the threats held out ſo inconſiſtent, that the performance of the one, and the execution of the other, are equally impoſſible. An Union would not deſtroy the argument of numbers, which the Catholics enjoy, Compared with the Proteſtants of the empire, they are a minority; with the Proteſtants of Ireland, a majority. They will be equally ſo, after an Union, unleſs they are tranſplanted into Britain, and blended with their Proteſtant fellow ſubjects of that country. If the Proteſtant votes for the Union, his aſcen-

dancy is to be preſerved; if the Catholic conſents, an opening ſhall be left for his future admiſſion to additional privileges. If the Proteſtant refuſes, the Catholics are to be taken by the hand; as the Britiſh Cabinet is only bound to preſerve Ireland to the Engliſh crown, not to any particular mode of preſerving the connection; yet Catholic refuſal is to be puniſhed by the rigid maintenance of Proteſtant aſcendancy. There is a paſſage of the pamphlet well worth attention, ſpeaking of Proteſtant aſcendancy—— "Who," ſays the writer, "will be the guarantee "of that ſyſtem, and whom will it content? The "Catholics will not acquieſce in its propriety. A "party of Proteſtants in Ireland deem it unjuſt and "abſurd; another party in England term it by "fouler names; great leaders in oppoſition, poſſibly "the future miniſters of England, may condemn "it; and ſome members of the Britiſh Cabinet "are ſuppoſed to be adverſe to it. Its ſtability "may reſt upon accident, upon the death of a "*ſingle* character, upon the change of a miniſter, "on the temper of a Lord Lieutenant, and the "policy of this ſyſtem is much doubted by the "people of England." Will the Proteſtant, ever ſo much attached to his aſcendancy, ſacrifice the independence of his country, to preſerve a ſyſtem, whoſe continuation is now acknowledged to depend on circumſtances, over which an Union can have no controul? Will the Catholic embrace an Union, when, in the preſent ſtate of the connection, ſo many things unite in inſpiring a rational hope, that his emancipation will ſhortly be effected? I am aſtoniſhed

aſtoniſhed, that the Author is not better informed, than to aſſert, that the Diſſenting intereſt has little ſhare in the preſent repreſentation. The whole county repreſentation of the province of Ulſter, is almoſt entirely in the hands of Diſſenters; and at preſent, they bear a much greater proportion to the Proteſtant intereſt of Ireland, than they would do after an Union, (though joined with the Engliſh Diſſenters) to the * Proteſtant intereſt of the empire. Beſides, there being no teſt laws againſt them in this country, they enjoy the capacity of filling all public employments, and as theſe laws are in force in England, their condition would be rather deteriorated than improved by the Union †.

The gentleman fears the oppoſition of the metropolis and the Bar. He endeavours to do away that of the metropolis;—that of the Bar he cannot overcome: he therefore treats them the way the Quaker did the dog he found in his pantry—I will neither beat thee, nor kill thee, but I will give thee a bad name. He relieves the fears of Dublin, by the example of Edinburgh. This argument

* I have uſed the word Proteſtant, according to its vulgar meaning in this country; though I could never perceive the propriety of applying it excluſively to the Proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church.

† Suppoſing that the enaction of a teſt law for Ireland would not be the conſequence of the Union, which probably it would; yet as many Diſſenters, who now live here, would reſide then in England, they would ſuffer, as it is not likely, that there would be an exception in the Engliſh teſt act, in favour of Iriſh Diſſenters.

will only avail with thoſe who have ſeen but one of theſe cities. That Edinburgh has improved ſince the Union, I admit; but if any certain concluſion can be drawn from this mode of reaſoning, Dublin has improved much more within the ſame period. And whether Edinburgh can in any degree be compared with Dublin, in fine buildings, the reſort of nobility and gentry, her banking houſes, her merchants and manufacturers, the number of inhabitants, the extent of the town, and the greatneſs of her commerce—in all which the proſperity of a capital is ſuppoſed to conſiſt, let perſons anſwer, who have viſited both places.

Should the Union take place, our principal nobility and gentry would go to London, and thoſe of moderate fortune will never viſit our capital, but live penuriouſly on their eſtates in the country, and every two or three years take their families to ſome Engliſh watering place, for the purpoſe of making connections. Dublin, we are told, will ſtill be the reſidence of a Viceroy and his court. So much the worſe. We ſhall have all the vices of an independent government, without its advantages. The great offices of ſtate will be continued. From want of employment they will be ſinecures, and their ſalaries will be ſpent in London. If our own Parliament were all placemen and penſioners, the conſequence would not be ſo pernicious. Their ill-gotten wealth would at leaſt be ſpent in the country, and circulate among the people from whom it was extracted, as the vapours exhaled from the earth return

return to it in vain. Our merchants and barristers will necessarily be excluded from the representation; and it will be entirely confined to a few landholders. That the merchants should have a share, no one can deny. We will examine the advantage of excluding the legal profession. Barristers having seats in Parliament, is a powerful controul over the conduct of Judges, not only in securing their respectful demeanour to the bar, but also the faithful discharge of their public duty. The law officers of the Crown will always sit in that assembly; and in the discussion of judicial delinquency (if ever such a question should arise) were there no lawyers in the ranks of opposition, the servants of the Crown would have great advantage over the country gentlemen. They will not be so ready, should they have the inclination, to advance illegal positions in support of arbitrary power, when they know that detection and the loss of professional * character will be the consequence. Perhaps some men may have attained by politics, situations to which professional merit would never have raised them; but in this country there have been, and there are judges who never sat in Parliament and others who did, that will not suffer by comparison with the greatest judicial characters of England. The mention of one man who is now

* The pamphlet states that it is the habit of the gentlemen of Ireland, to educate their sons at the temple. But of that description how few practice the profession? On examination I do not think that there are more practising barristers in the Irish Parliament, than there are in the English.

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no more cannot excite envy. Who was beloved by his friends, admired by all who knew him, and revered by his country—I mean Huſſey Burgh. The Houſe of Commons was his path to the bench. No court ſycophancy,—no, mean compliancy,—no deſertion of his country's rights marked his way. He kept a ſteady upright courſe, and never deviated from the line of honour. Placed on the ſeat of juſtice. In the prime of life—in the full poſſeſſion of his ſplendid talents, he was ſnatched from us by a malignant fever. The ways of Providence are inſcrutable—Him we have loſt.—May we on the preſent trying occaſion feel the inſpiration of his virtues.

The profeſſion will indeed be degraded. The different departments will be all filled by Engliſhmen, and neither Phipps nor Whitſhed afford any reaſon to rejoice in Engliſh Chancellors, or Engliſh Judges. Scotland, by her Union, loſt the abilities of a Mansfield and an Erſkine. Had we been United with England, we ſhould have been without a Yelverton and a Curran.

Our Church eſtabliſhment may be preſerved—not for the Iriſh clergy, but for Engliſh incumbents. The difference of laws, and a poor Church eſtabliſhment ſecured Scotland from thoſe evils.

What is this Union to produce? It is to encreaſe our commerce and manufactures, by yielding them up to the management of the commercial and manufacturing monopoly of Britain, which is in oppoſition to the real intereſt of the empire. It is to promote

promote our agriculture, and civilize our people, by taking away thoſe perſons, who by their ſkill and fortune, can beſt advance the cultivation of lands; and by their manners reclaim the lower claſſes of ſociety. It is to tranquillize the country, by encreaſing the diſcontent of the people, and creating the diſcontent of the gentry. It is to give employment to our population, by turning our manufacturers and huſbandmen into ſailors and ſoldiers, to navigate the ſhips, and fight the battles of commercial jealouſy, and deſtructive ambition.

The bar is to be meliorated by a plan which will ſeduce all Iriſh talent to England, and ſend Engliſh incapacity to Ireland. Iriſh trade is to be protected by excluding the Iriſh merchant from the Legiſlature. The dignity of our peerage, is to be ſecured by taking away its Legiſlative capacity; and finally, the vices of our own Parliament are to be corrected by its extinction: and the management of our concerns to be ſurrended for ever, to an Aſſembly not ſuperior to our own in *talents or virtue.** *If at the end of fifty years, Ireland owes twelve millions, at the cloſe of a century, England owes five hundred. If an Iriſh parliament has on many occaſions ſacrificed the real intereſts of Ireland, to the*

* Some years ago, the Iriſh legiſlature ſecured their country againſt the injuſtice of Portugal; the Britiſh Miniſter and the Britiſh legiſlature, never interpoſed in our favour.

† Ireland, in the year 1753, did not owe a ſhilling. The debt of England commenced at the Revolution. I believe I have ſtated the debts of both countries, nealy as they are.

falſe

falſe intereſts of Britain; an Engliſh one has as often laid at the feet of a few individuals, the true intereſt of the Britiſh empire. If the Iriſh Secretary can command his hollow majority at Dublin, the Britiſh Miniſter can do ſo at Weſtminſter. The truth is, that vice and virtue, are not the peculiar attributes of any individuals, or of any country. Where there are great temptations, human nature is not always able to reſiſt. And at preſent, the inducements to Senatorial proſtitution, are as ſtrong in England as in Ireland.

The gentleman, ſpeaking of the ſtate of the country, ſays, "That all her acceſſion of proſperity has been of no avail, that diſcontent has "kept pace with improvement, diſcord has grown "up with our wealth, conſpiracy and rebellion "have ſhot up with our proſperity," it would not be difficult, without being "a ſhrewd deviner," to aſſign other cauſes for conſpiracy and rebellion, than wealth, proſperity, and improvement. The future hiſtorian may relate *

To propoſe an Union at ſuch a time—to adviſe Britain to take advantage of our preſent unhappy ſtate. If a man ſhould inſinuate himſelf into a private houſe, take advantage of the prejudices of its different inmates, to throw all into diſcord; and in the midſt of the confuſion, make an attempt on the family eſtate: What epithet would ſuch conduct deſerve? What puniſhment ſhould it experience? The writer aſſerts, "That Dr. M'Nevin, "and

" and the United Iriſhmen declare, that Catholic " Emancipation and Reform, are the certain fore- " runners of ſeparation and republicaniſm." Whe- they do ſo or not, I have no means of being in- formed. I ſhall venture to think for myſelf upon thoſe ſubjects; as far as I am able to judge, they would have a contrary tendency. It ſtrikes me, the King and the people are equally injured by the preſent ſyſtem of repreſentation, and the borough proprietors are the only gainers. The gentleman himſelf cannot think that the former of theſe mea- ſures will work theſe effects; as in one part of his pamphlet, where he wiſhes to frighten the re- fractory Proteſtants into an Union, he tells them, that Great Britain is not bound to ſupport one ſect more than another, and aſks, " What is to debar her from aſſiſting the Catholics?" That a reform will not lead to Republicaniſm, but to a preſerva- tion of the conſtitution; I have the opinions of Locke, Monteſquieu, De Lolme, Hales, Black- ſtone, Burleigh, and Chatham; and if the gentle- man, whoever he may be, and thoſe with whom he is connected, think differently, he and they muſt excuſe me, " if I recollect the maxim, " malim errare, cum Scaligero quam recte ſentire " cum aliis." He aſks, " If our ſituation be im- " putable to mal-adminiſtration, who can ſecure " us from its recurrence? If to the inſtability of " affairs, who can inſure their future conſiſtency?" I anſwer, that Britain has often experienced mal- adminiſtration, and that inſtability is the lot of hu- man affairs.

With reſpect to our religious differences, I earneſtly beſeech the Almighty to infuſe into our minds the true ſpirit of the Goſpel, and heal thoſe diviſions that have bathed our country in blood, and made us weak, when we ſhould be ſtrong. Time will do much. An Union with England will do nothing.

Damnoſa quid non imminuit dies?

The Union is miſchievous to Britiſh freedom, unneceſſary to the promotion of true Britiſh intereſt. "Caligula wiſhed that the people of Rome "had but one neck," there may be men who wiſh that the liberties of the empire had but one ſecurity. The Iriſh members, always at the devotion of the Court, the Iriſh population, converted into a mercenary army, would be powerful inſtruments in the hands of profligate ambition. And, at a future period, ſhould a miniſter ariſe, who would rather have his Sovereign feared than loved, the deſpot of ſlaves, not the King of a free people. An Iriſh ſoldiery, at the mandate of ſuch a wretch, if force were neceſſary, would be as ready to beat down Britiſh liberty in the field, as their countrymen were to ſell it in the Senate. Cromwell, to ſecure his unlawful power, forced the kingdom, exhauſted by civil wars, into an Union. He called thirty members to the kind of parliament he eſtabliſhed. In Britain, the friends of freedom clamoured againſt the meaure. But Cromwell had his red regiment.

IRISHMEN,

IRISHMEN,

Our unhappy diſtractions have been urged as a neceſſity for the Union. Dreadful, indeed, has been the conflict. There has been much to be lamented. There is no reaſon to deſpond. In the midſt of our calamities, I diſcover the ſeeds of future aggrandiſement. We have great vices. We have great virtues. Has cruelty been awake? Humanity has not ſlept. We have witneſſed the hardy virtue of antiquity. In horror at its effects, I diſcern the future extinction of religious bigotry. And I behold a divided valour, which, if united, would ſecure us againſt the attack of the proudeſt foe, and defend our liberties againſt the world in arms.

Per damna, per cædes, ab ipſo
Ducit opes animumque ferro.

Were an extravagant young man, to ſecure his future frugality, to deliver his eſtate to the management of a *notorious old ſpendthrift*, and ſign a bond never to call him to account for the profits? Were a freeman voluntarily to become a ſlave? Would you

not laugh at the folly of the one, and deſpiſe the baſeneſs of the other. Yet ſuch will be your conduct, if you make an incorporate Union. In any other ſettlement, the infringement of the articles is a diſſolution of the compact. But an incorporate Union annihilates the the contracting parties without the power of revival. It will bind us in an adamantine chain which we can never break. It will take from us for ever the diſpoſal of our property, the regulation of our conduct. It is the attempt of human preſumption to graſp the power of Omnipotence, not for the benevolent purpoſes of the Deity, to break the connection of cauſe and effect, to counteract the bounties of nature, to limit the progreſs of improvement, to make proſperity ſtationary. All ſhall be fixed, unalterable, irrevocable. The roll of ages, the viciſſitudes of empires, ſhall not meliorate your condition. And *time and chance which happeneth to all men, ſhall alone never come to you.*

Were an Union fraught with bleſſings, as it is with curſes—Were it the elixir of life, not the potion of death. You ought to reject it.

There are crimes which no bribe could tempt a moral man to commit. There is a baſeneſs, than to ſtoop to which, a man of honour ſhould rather die. Individually, you are high ſpirited.—Be ſo collectively.

What

What is the true opinion of the Scotch on their Union? Read it, in the enthuſiaſtic praiſes beſtowed by their hiſtorians on thoſe heroes, who from the days of Wallace to the time of Fletcher, had fought, ſpoke, and died, for the independance of their native land.

What is the reaſon that no man can ſell his liberty? It is, becauſe the moment he becomes a a ſlave, the perſon who bought him, can take from him, the very price for which he ſold his freedom. Can the Parliament do that for you, which you cannot do for yourſelves. "*Their power is not an "arbritrary power. They are truſtees, not the "owners of the eſtate. The fee ſimple is in the peo-"ple."* One part of your anceſtors received a Conſtitution from the 2d Henry, and guarded their independence with a watchful jealouſy.† Another often bled in the field, to acquire the participation of its privileges.‡ And a third are to be found amongſt thoſe,

* Vide Junius's dedication of his letters to the Engliſh nation. In the reign of Charles 2d twenty-three lay lords ſigned a proteſt, declaring that the privilege of ſitting and voting in Parliament, was an honour they had by birth; a right ſo inherent in them, that nothing could take it away, but what by the law of the land, took away their lives and corrupted their blood.

† See the declaration of the Iriſh Lords and Commons, on being ſummoned to England by Edward the 3d Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland, vol. 1. p. 328.

‡ Vide the demands of the Iriſh Catholics. Lel. Hiſt. of Ire. vol. 3, p. 228.

thoſe, who in Scotland ſucceſsfully reſiſted the tyranny of the 1ſt Charles.* Emulate your progenitors, and reverence yourſelves. What your fathers were to you. Be ye to your children, that they may not curſe you in your grave. Swift firſt taught Ireland to know herſelf. Lucas bade Magna Charta, ſpeak freedom to Iriſhmen, in a language they could underſtand. Grattan, Burgh, and Flood acquired Commerce and Conſtitution. The laſt of whom, by the Act of Renunciation, placed the dome, on the temple of Iriſh independence.

Will you ſurrender that independence? Will you renounce the renunciation? Will you give away the fruits of the labour, the talents, the integrity of theſe men? Many of you have ſworn to defend the Conſtitution. Let not Heaven then witneſs your perjury. *Baniſh all party feeling, all party prejudice,* AND THE HEAD, HEART, AND HAND OF IRELAND, SHALL SUCCESSFULLY OPPOSE AN UNION.

* A great number of the Northerns of this kingdom, are deſcended from the Scotch Covenanters.

FINIS.

☞*The laſt budget of the Britiſh Miniſter, affords* MILLIONS *of arguments againſt an* UNION, *on the ſcore of taxes.*

ERRATA.

Page	1, *line*	1—for *inſtance*, read *inſtances*.
	6,	20—for a *ſemicolon*, a *colon*.
	9,	1—for *difference*, read *differences*.
	10,	at the end of the note, after the word *malt* for law, read *tax*.
	—	10—for *Scotch*, read *North*.
	21,	20—dele *to*.
	13,	4—for *mannfactures*, read *manufacturers*.
	—	11—dele *is*.
	—	25—for *were*, read *was*.
	—	26—for *was*, read *were*.
	14,	10—for *manufacture*, read *manufactures*.
	15,	12—dele *is*.
	18,	20—between *wounded* and *in*, read *man*.
	28,	29—for *and*, read *on*.
	38,	5—for *compliancy*, read *compliance*.

REASONS

AGAINST A

UNION.

IN WHICH

"ARGUMENTS for and againſt a UNION," Suppoſed to have come from a PERSON in High Station, are particularly conſidered;

BY AN IRISHMAN.

Senſus moreſque repugnant
Atque ipſa Utilitas, juſti prope Mater et æqui.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR G. FOLINGSBY, 59, DAME-STREET,

1798.

REASONS

AGAINST A

UNION.

THE public mind has been for many weeks much agitated, by obſcure and unauthenticated reports, of a projected Union, betwen the Legiſlatures of this Country, and of England. At laſt a Pamphlet has appeared, avowing and defending the meaſure, which though not official, bears a ſtrong appearance of having come from the pen of a Perſon, in a high and confidential

ſituation. The uncommon avidity with which this Pamphlet was purchaſed, is an evident proof, of the great degree of intereſt with which the Queſtion is conſidered, by the Inhabitants of this City; even by thoſe whoſe habits of Life, are the moſt remote from Political Diſquiſitions. At ſuch a ſeaſon, it is in ſome meaſure the duty of every one, to ſuggeſt ſuch Thoughts as occur to him, on a ſubject ſo momentous and important.

Though the deſign of theſe Sheets, is to eſtabliſh a Concluſion, directly oppoſite to that drawn by the Writer of the Pamphlet above mentioned; there are many things in the progreſs of his work, with which I do moſt implicitly agree, particularly that it is a Queſtion, than which none "could be deviſed, more fit "for ſober and philoſophical argument; that "the ſubject ought to be diſcuſſed with Tem-"per, and that it deſerves much Diſcuſſion."

That there might not advantages ariſe from an Union if adopted, which would make it highly deſirable, if not counterbalanced by equal or ſuperior diſadvantages, I ſhall by no means contend; few tranſactions in the poli-

tical world are purely beneficial, or purely detrimental, it is the part of a wiſe Legiſlator, to aſcertain to which ſide the balance of good inclines, and to regulate his conduct accordingly.

Before I enter into the expediency of the meaſure, I ſhall ſay a few words on its general principle, and on general principles I cannot but doubt, that the omnipotence of Parliament (as it is ſomewhat profanely called) is competent for this purpoſe. I much doubt that the Parliament of Great Britain, has a right to give a deputy from Dublin, a ſhare in legiſlating for the Citizen of London, even though the Citizen of London preſerves his former number of Repreſentatives; but I much more ſtrongly doubt, that the Parliament of Ireland, can conſiſtently with juſtice and their duty, deprive a great portion of their conſtituents of their elective Franchiſe, *Reſtrain* the exerciſe of it in others, and by admitting a vaſt majority of perſons over whom they have no controul into the Legiſlature, perhaps *render it uſeleſs* to all.

There is no maxim more eſtabliſhed in the law of nature, or more evident to common

ſenſe, than that the Repreſentative can have no lawful power to deſtroy his Conſtituent (for from whence could he have derived it,) that an attempt of the kind is a dereliction of his truſt, which the Conſtituent immediately acquires a right, to reſume into his own hands.

All writers of character upon political juriſprudence, have laid down (and their theory has been confirmed by the practice of every Government in Europe, Conſtantinople not excepted,) that there are certain fundamental points in every ſtate, which the ſupreme power cannot lawfully change, without the conſent of the people at large. Many of theſe will neceſſarily be different in different countries, according to their reſpective conſtitutions, but it is common to all Countries, and to all Conſtitutions, that neither the form of Government, be it what it may; nor the perſons of the Governors, can be changed, without breaking up the eſtabliſhment and recurring anew to the people,*

* Si tamen Rex reipſa etiam tradere Regnum, aut ſubjicere moliatur, quin ei reſiſti in hoc poſſit non dubito: aliud eſt enim ut diximus Imperium, alius habendi Modus, qui ne mutetur obſtare poteſt populus.'

GROTIUS de Jure Belli et Pacis, 1, 4, 10.

I believe no one will be hardy enough to aſſert, that the Parliament of this country, would be *competent* to declare, the Houſe of Commons uſe-

'Ubi una Civitas alteri ita conjungitur, ut uni quidem 'ſua Reſpublica ſedeſque maneat, alterius vero cives, relicta 'ſua ſede, in alterius civitatis jura ſedemque adſciſcantur, unam 'quidem *penitus perire conſtat*, illa autem quæ remanet eadem eſſe 'non definit, utut tali acceſſione inſignia capiat incrementa.'

PUFFENDORFF de Legibus Naturæ et Gentium, 8, 12, 6.

'Summa huc redit, nihil agere Regem qui regnum in alium, '*propria authoritate*, transferre aggreditur, nec ſubditos iſto actu 'regis teneri, verum huic non minus populi quam regis 'conſenſum requiri; nam uti invito Rege regnum non recte 'eripitur, ita nec invito populo alius Rex obtrudi poteſt.'

IBID, 8, 5, 9.

TRANSLATIONS.

But if the ſupreme power, ſhall really attempt to hand over the Kingdom, or put it into ſubjection to another, I have no doubt, that in this it may be lawfully reſiſted. For as I have ſaid before, it is in that caſe another Government, another manner of holding it, which change the People have a right to oppoſe.

GROTIUS on the Rights of War and Peace. 1, 4, 10.

When one ſtate is ſo united with another, that to one its form and ſeat of Government remains, but that the Citizens of the other, leaving their own reſidence, are tranſplanted into the ſeat of Government, and placed under the laws of the other State, it is plain that the one is

leſs, and that the ſupreme power, ſhould in future, be veſted in the King and the Lords, and

entirely diſſolved: but that which remains does not ceaſe to be the ſame, although by ſuch an acceſſion, it may have received a ſignal increaſe.

PUFFENDORF on the Laws of Nature and Nations, 8, 12, 6.

The whole comes to this, that the ſupreme power is in a vain purſuit, if it endeavours by its own authority alone, to transfer the Government to other hands, and that the ſubjects are not bound by ſuch an Act of their Governors, but that ſuch a thing requires not leſs the conſent of the people, than of the Government; for as the Government cannot be lawfully taken from the Governors without their conſent, ſo neither without the conſent of the People, can another Government be obtruded upon them.

IBID, 8, 5, 9.

It is to be noted that throughout the above extracts, *Rex* ſignifies not the King ſolely, but the ſupreme power of the ſtate, whatever that may be.

The Legiſlature cannot tranſfer the power of making laws to any other hands; for it being but a delegated power from the People, they who have it cannot paſs it over to others. The people alone can appoint the form of the Common wealth, which is by conſtituting the Legiſlature, and appointing in whoſe hands that ſhall be; and when the people have ſaid, we will ſubmit and be governed by laws made by ſuch men; and in ſuch forms, nobody elſe can ſay other men ſhall make laws for

it is ſcarcely leſs wild to aſſert, that the Parliament of this country is competent to declare, that the Iriſh Nation ſhall in future be repreſented, by Delegates choſen in the whole, or in part, by the county of Middleſex, or other counties in Eng-

'them. The power of the Legiſlature being derived from 'the people, by a poſitive voluntary act and inſtitution, 'can be no other than what that poſitive act conveyed, '*which being only to make Laws, and not to make Legiſ-* '*lators*, the Legiſlative can have no power to transfer their 'authority of making laws, and place it in other hands.'

LOCKE on Government, 2, 11, 141.

'Governments are diſſolved from within, when the Le- 'giſlative is altered.—The conſtitution of the Legiſlative, is 'the firſt and fundamental act of Society, whereby provi- 'ſion is made for the continuance of the Union, under 'the direction of perſons authoriſed thereto, without which 'no one man or number of men amongſt them, can have 'authority of making laws, which ſhall be binding to the 'reſt. When any one or more ſhall take upon them to 'make laws, whom the people have not appointed ſo to 'do, they make laws without authority, which the peo- 'ple are not therefore bound to obey; by which means 'they come again to be out of ſubjection, and may con- 'ſtitute to themſelves a new Legiſlative as they think beſt, 'being in full liberty to reſiſt the force of thoſe, who 'without authority, would impoſe any thing on them.'

IBID, 2, 19, 212.

land. No doubt the People may conſent to the alteration, if they think proper, and may as well treat of it by delegation as otherwiſe, but the delegation for that purpoſe muſt be expreſs, and cannot be included in any general or ordinary powers.

If we once ſuffer the fundamental laws to be trampled on, from motives of expediency, we have from that hour, eſtabliſhed an arbitrary government, which is equally incompatible with freedom, whether the power be lodged in one hand, or in one thouſand what ſecurity ſhall we then have, that the majority of the Parliament of Great Britain, or whatſoever other name the Union may bear, will not ſay, "Theſe Iriſhmen "are refractory, are troubleſome, we will leſſen "their number, or, we will totally exclude them, "*It is expedient.*" 'Tis true this would be a breach of faith, but would it be more ſo than the conduct of the Delegate, who deputed to *protect* the privileges of his Conſtituents, annihilates them, and thus employs the power with which he has been entruſted, to the deſtruction of thoſe who gave it.

The author of the pamphlet to which I have alluded, ſeems to have been aware of this argument, and has thus endeavoured to guard againſt it;

"If, says he, this argument had any real weight, "we could never have obtained the Reformation, "and the eſtabliſhment of Proteſtaniſm: we could "never have procured the Revolution, and have "changed the line of hereditary ſucceſſion to the "throne: the Union of Scotland and England "could not have been entertained."

I ſhall examine theſe three inſtances, one by one, and hope to prove that they do not in the leaſt impugn (however they may ſupport) the doctrine I wiſh to eſtabliſh.

The firſt legiſlative ſtep towards the Reformation in theſe countries was 20th Hen. 8, (1534) at which time it had made conſiderable progreſs among the people, this was afterwards followed at intervals, by other gradual and moderate advances, but ſo far were theſe from being in oppoſition to the general ſentiment, that as ſoon as the nation was freed from the very ſtrong coercion, it laboured under during the reign of Henry, it ſeized the opportunity of the minority of his ſucceſſor, to eſtabliſh the Reformation, in as great extent, as in any part of Germany, and ſo rooted was it in the minds of the people, that upwards

of five years of unrelenting and unremitted perſecution, were inſufficient to eradicate it, or even to prevent its growth, and we find at the acceſſion of Elizabeth, it was publicly profeſſed, by almoſt the whole nation: at that time the rights of King, of Parliament, and of people were very ill underſtood indeed, and it was not to be expected, that the people would oppoſe a meaſure of which they approved, merely from a Punctilio of its having been paſſed irregularly, or by an incompetent authority.

The ſecond inſtance is the Revolution.—How was that brought about? by an act of the legiſlature? No: but by the immediate agency of the people. A Convention, formed from themſelves, without any of the forms directed by the particular law of the country, declared, "That King "James the Second having endeavoured to ſub-"vert the conſtitution of the kingdom, by break-"ing the original contract betwixt King and Peo-"ple, and having, by the advice of Jeſuits and "other wicked perſons, *violated the fundamental* "*Laws*, and withdrawn himſelf out of the king-"dom, has abdicated the government, and the "Throne is thereby vacant." This was infamy

and univerſally ſubmitted to, and not only has continued to be ſo, to this day, but is at preſent the boaſt and glory of the nation. Does this militate againſt my argument, or if I was to ſearch the Hiſtory of the World, could I find a ſtronger example in ſupport of it; and does not the principle of it apply equally to the whole legiſlature as to the King ſhould they be guilty of the ſame crime.

At the time the Union was under debate in Scotland, the very ſame argument that I have adduced of the incompetence of Parliament, to ſurrender the Independence of their Country, was vehemently urged by the oppoſers of the meaſure, and how was it anſwered? not by denying its validity, not by queſtioning its principle, but by ſhewing that to treat of the Union of the two countries was one of the cauſes for aſſembling the Parliament, mentioned in the Proclamation which ſummoned it to meet, conſequently that the members of it, were Delegates for that expreſs purpoſe; ſo that from this inſtance, not only no inference can be drawn againſt my poſition, but whatever weight the authority of the Miniſters of that day may have (who thought it neceſſary to inſert ſuch

clauſe in the Proclamation) is decidedly in my favour.

But perhaps though the meaſure may not be ſtrictly regular, and legal, the expediency of it may tempt us to neglect all forms, and adopt it. I ſhall now examine it in that point of view.

That there would probably be a conſiderable influx of Britiſh capital, on our Southern and South weſtern ſhores, I do readily admit, that the conſequence of it, would probably be, the erection of new manufactures, and the local increaſe of wealth, civilization and natural improvement.— That this would be highly beneficial to the nation is not to be diſputed, nor do I mean to detract from its benefits, which would be ſufficient at once to determine us on adopting the meaſure, were they not more than counterbalanced, by other conſiderations of ſuperior moment.

From the day of the Union being agreed on, we may date the deſtruction of the Conſtitution, not only of Ireland but of England alſo. It is not many years ſince the Houſe of Commons of England reſolved, "That the influence of the "Crown had increaſed, was increaſing, and ought "to be diminiſhed." Any ſteps that may have

been taken ſince, to accompliſh the object of that Reſolution, I believe have not been very effectual, but by this meaſure, a new acceſſion of ſtrength, muſt be thrown into the hands of the Miniſter. It needs no argument to prove, that men removed from the eye of their Conſtituents, beyond the reach of the voice of their praiſe or cenſure, far from their homes, immerſed in the pleaſures of a diſſolute and expenſive capital, muſt be in an high degree expoſed to temptation; and I fear the race of the Fabricii and Dentati is nearly extinct among us. Similar conſequences were foretold by the oppoſers of the Union between Scotland and England, and I believe the event has fully verified their prediction; and now ſo indifferent are the people of Scotland become about their ſhare of the Repreſentation, that through the whole of the Northern part of the united kingdom, there was not a ſingle conteſted election for the preſent Parliament, nor even an atempt at oppoſition to the miniſterial Candidate; except in a ſingle inſtance by General Maitland, and that ſeemed more deſigned for an opportunity of publiſhing an angry advertiſement than for any other purpoſe, and it went no farther.

But objectionable as this meaſure is, as it regards the Commons, it becomes tenfold worſe, if

we conſider the effect it would have upon the Lords. As there is no probability that the whole houſe would be tranſplanted into England, I ſhall aſſume it as certain, that the Peerage of Ireland would be repreſented by a delegation. Above two-fifths of the Peerage of Ireland, is compoſed of perpetual Abſentees, the majority of whom, have not the ſmalleſt intereſt in this country, either from property, or connexion, theſe from their continual reſidence near, and intercourſe with the Miniſter, will be the moſt likely to obtain his favour and patronage; and as we have no reaſon to doubt, that a miniſterial liſt would be received at an Election here with the ſame reſpect that it is in Scotland, the repreſentatives of our Peerage, would probably in a few years be complete ſtrangers, perſons who only knew the country in the map. This is a feature which very ſtrongly diſtinguiſhes the ſituation of this country at preſent, from that of Scotland at the time of the Union. All the Peers of Scotland who were capable of being elected, were natives of Scotland, attached to it by the ſtrong bands of natural affection and of intereſt. The Peerage of Scotland had not been profuſely conferred as an inferior

dignity, upon perſons totally unconnected with the country.

Though the conſequence of a Union might be an influx of wealth, through one channel, into the kingdom, it would flow out again through many; it can ſcarcely be doubted, that its completion would be immediately followed, by the emigration, not only of thoſe whoſe duty in Parliament required their attendance, of thoſe, who either through powerful connections, or confidence in their own abilities, ſought preferment in any ſhape, but alſo of a large proportion of thoſe, whoſe affluent fortunes enabled them to conſult only their pleaſure in their place of reſidence, and the rents of all theſe would neceſſarily be drawn out of the kingdom. If the number of her Abſentees has always been conſidered as the bane of Ireland, ſurely that meaſure cannot be beneficial to her, which tends to increaſe them. But detrimental as it appears conſidered in this point of view, in another it is ſtill more deſtructive, when Democracy is making ſuch rapid ſtrides, ſurely it cannot be prudent, to withdraw thoſe who from their rank are moſt intereſted, and from their influence moſt able to oppoſe it. If the country is ſtripped of men of opulence, and liberal education, if it is

left to the uninformed country gentleman, the manufacturer, and farmer, the lawyer, and the merchant, it requires not the gift of prophecy to foresee, that the Ariſtocracy and Monarchy are loſt. Then may we exclaim with Pantheus,

Fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium, et ingens
Gloria Teucrorum: ferus omnia Jupiter Argos
Tranſtulit.

I have already admitted that it is probable that a part of the kingdom might be improved by the Union, but at the ſame time, another, and a much greater part, would be devoted to inevitable deſtruction. The effects it would have in this capital are really melancholy to reflect on. The large ſums of money that have been expended on buildings in this City—the extenſive ſpeculations in the Canals leading to it—the high prices that have been given either by purchaſe or by rent for Land in its vicinity, ſo much exceeding its natural value—the loans that have been advanced on the ſecurity of theſe buildings, and this land muſt, when they are depreciated, as will inevitably be the caſe, involve numerous families in utter ruin, nor will they have even the poor conſolation (if it is any) to reflect, that they have been ruined by their own

indiſcretion, for ſurely if there was any thing ſhort of an expreſs declaration, that could juſtly give them confidence in the permanence of the preſent ſyſtem, it would be the reflexion, that in the midſt of an expenſive War, immenſe ſums had been levied from the People, for the purpoſe of building *at home* a magnificent Edifice for the reception of their Repreſentatives, which is not yet entirely completed. I know not whether Stateſmen may not eſteem it juſtifiable to deprive, ſuppoſe one thouſand Perſons of Advantages they at preſent enjoy, in order by that means to confer equal Advantages upon double the Number, but juſtifiable or not, I am ſure it is impolitic; it leſſens the value not only of the things immediately in queſtion, but of every other Poſſeſſion in the Community—, for example, we are told that though Dublin will ſuffer ſome Loſs, by the abduction of the Parliament, other Parts of the Kingdom will gain, and that the Injury to Dublin will be but ſmall, as "it *muſt* ſtill be the Reſidence of the Viceroy and "his Court, that Sciences, Arts and Amuſements "*may be* cultivated in proportion, as there will "be leſs attention to Politics: that it will be the "Seat of Juſtice, which will be adminiſtered as "at preſent; the Chief Seat of Revenue, and

" the Head Quarters of the Army:"—But what Security have we, that in a few Years when Cork or ſome of the Southern Cities has ouſtripped her (as muſt inevitably be the Conſequence of this Meaſure taking Place) that it may not be *thought expedient* to remove the Seats of Government and of Juſtice to the more opulent and flouriſhing City—'tis true there may be compacts and engagements, but the Magic Taliſman *Expediency* will diſſolve them all,

mille adde Catenas
Effugiet tamen hæc ſceleratus vincula Proteus.

If this was to take place, ſituated as Dublin is, in the middle of the Channel, remote from either Sea, how ſoon would it dwindle into a fiſhing Town.

Beſides the injury that permanent property in this city and its vicinity would ſuſtain, there is another evil perhaps not leſs deplorable, which though only temporary will be more immediate.—A large proportion of the working inhabitants of this city, earn their daily ſuſtenance by miniſtring to the luxury of the rich—if the rich abandon the city, in any great degree, numbers of theſe muſt be thrown out of employment, many of them in-

capable of reſorting to any other means for a livelihood—on this ſubject I ſhall not enlarge, I have pointed out the evil, I know not where to find the remedy.

We are likewiſe told, that " the ſame argu-" ment was uſed moſt powerfully at the time " of the Scotch Union, with regard to Edinburgh " the deſertion of that capital was predicted, the " bankruptcy of its ſhopkeepers, the ruin of its " proprietors was foretold, and inſiſted upon; yet " notwithſtanding the Union, and the prophecy, " Edinburgh ſo far from decaying has flouriſhed " more ſince the Union, than it had done before". It is true Edinburgh remains a great city, as great as it was one hundred years ago, it has happened not to have been thought expedient to remove the ſeat of the provincial Government from it, it has therefore not declined, but look at the improvements of other parts of Scotland ſince 1707, and ſee if the improvement of Edinburgh and its vicinity has kept pace with them. Compare the improvements of Ireland and of Scotland in the above period, how much the former has been outſtripped by the latter; but compare Dublin with Edinburgh and in the ſame time, the in-

creaſe of the former will be found to have been fourfold of that of the latter.

The improvements of both Scotland and Ireland in the preſent century, have been aſtoniſhing, but Edinburgh, amid the general advancement of its country, has remained nearly ſtationary, becauſe it has ceaſed to be the capital, while on the contrary there has been no ſtep made to proſperity by Ireland, in which Dublin did not participate at leaſt its full ſhare.

One of the leading arguments of the ſupporters of this meaſure, is the example of Scotland, in conſenting to a Union, and the increaſed degree of proſperity, that ſhe ſince enjoyed. That Scotland has increaſed in proſperity and affluence ſince the year 1707, is indiſputable, but that the Union was the ſole cauſe, may I think without any extraordinary degree of ſcepticiſm be doubted—other nations, ſince that period, have improved, perhaps with equal rapidity—previous to the Union, there was a ſtrong ſpirit of enterprize, and trade exiſting through the nation; for the unfortunate Darien Company, there was ſubſcribed in a few days 400,000l. ſterling, all the money of reſidents in Scotland. If the Union had never

taken place, this commercial ſpirit would ſtill have remained, and would probably have found opportunities equally advantageous, and have been equally ſucceſsful. By the Union Scotland was deprived of a very advantageous trade with France, from the loſs of which St. Andrews, and other towns on the eaſtern coaſt, are to this day nearly in ruins.

But the relative ſituations of England and Scotland, at the time of the Union, and of Great Britain and Ireland, at preſent are ſo eſſentially different, both in reſpect of natural poſition and of accidental circumſtances, that no argument can be drawn from the conduct of the one, to influence that of the other.—Separated as England and Scotland were from the reſt of the world, and divided from each other only by an arbitrary and artificial boundary, they ſeemed to have been marked out by the hand of nature for one and the ſame Kingdom, though attachment to their reſpective royal lines, long kept them ſeparate, this appeared ſo evident that before they were a ſecond year under the dominion of the ſame Prince, the Parliaments of the two countries ſet on foot a treaty for a Union—Commiſſioners were appointed to negotiate, but unfortunately the terms

were not agreed on. The diſtracted ſtate of England, for nearly the next ſixty years, and the violent animoſities of the different parties, left little leiſure to attend to a ſubject that required much coolneſs and deliberation. During the greater part of the reign of Charles II. and the whole of the ſubſequent reign of James II. Scotland was nearly as much diſturbed by religious commotions, but on almoſt the firſt moment of quiet, the ſubject was revived (I. of Anne) and at laſt in a very few years happily accompliſhed—on the contrary, nature has placed Ireland at a diſtance from Great Britain, has herſelf put a boundary between them determined and unalterable, and the nations have preſerved their preſent form of alliance through ſix hundred years of war and peace, without an effort or a thought of alteration, beyond an idle rumour, unleſs a propoſition to that purport in Parliament, is (which God avert) now ſeriouſly in contemplation.

In addition to the never ceaſing arguments, afforded by the natural ſituation of the two countries, particular circumſtances, at the time the Union between England and Scotland was concluded, called imperiouſly for the meaſure—from

a variety of unkindneſſes and provocations on both ſides, there ſeemed to be no alternative except complete Union or open war. The Scots had embarked a few years before, with great eagerneſs in a project of eſtabliſhing a Colony on the Iſthmus of Darien, by the miſcarriage of which, not only the nation ſuffered great loſs in point of wealth, but very many of the principal families had to mourn for a relative to whom the expedition proved fatal, this was the ſource of conſiderable animoſity againſt England, to whoſe intrigues and oppoſition, the failure of the undertaking was principally attributed—mutual jealouſies likewiſe prevailed relative to their different privileges in trade: however the advantages of a Union were ſo apparent to all men, as the moſt likely means of reconciling all differences, that in the Firſt of Anne, Commiſſioners were appointed to prepare a treaty, who however ſeparated without coming to any concluſion. On the breaking up of this negociation, the two countries became in a ſtate little ſhort of open hoſtilities.—The Scotch Parliament not only refuſed to ſettle the Succeſſion to the Crown, in the ſame manner that it was in England, but paſſed an Act, that on the death of Queen Anne, if a treaty ſhould not have been pre-

viouſly concluded, the Parliament ſhould proceed to appoint a ſucceſſor, *different* from him who ſucceeded to the Crown of England, and when Lord Marchmont the Chancellor, on a ſubſequent day, moved for the ſettlement of the Crown on the Houſe of Hanover, (on which the Engliſh Crown had been before ſettled) it was not only rejected, but it was vehemently demanded by many that the mover ſhould be ſent to priſon, and it was actually reſolved by a large majority that the motion ſhould be expunged from the Journals.

Nor did the Parliament of England yield to them in violence—it paſſed an Act that until the Succeſſion in Scotland was ſettled as in England, the Scotch ſhould be conſidered as Aliens—that trade between the two Countries ſhould be prohibited in a variety of Articles, &c. &c. and it was originally part of the ſame Act, and paſſed the Committee of the whole Houſe of Commons, though it was thrown out on the Report, that the Freeholders of the ſix northern Counties ſhould be required to arm: The Lords likewiſe addreſſed the Queen, to deſire that ſhe would give orders to her Admiral, to ſeize all Scotch veſſels trading to France, and that ſhe would have Newcaſtle and other fortreſſes put in a ſtate of defence. It

would be an abuſe of time, to offer any argument to ſhew, that there is no ſimilarity between the relative ſituations of Great Britain and Ireland at preſent, and of England and Scotland at that period.

" A Union, it is ſaid, may be compared to a " partnerſhip in trade. If a Merchant finds that " from circumſtances of ſituation, want of credit, " or capital, he cannot carry on his buſineſs alone " with advantage, will he not be wiſe to unite " himſelf, if poſſible, to an extenſive and weal- " thy ferme, and to become a ſharer, in propor- " tion to his contribution of induſtry and capital, " in the ſecure profits of an eſtabliſhed houſe." Perhaps a Merchant would not think it wiſe to engage his capital in an eſtabliſhed houſe, if by ſo doing, he was to put it for ever from under his own controul, and thereby be prevented in future, from availing himſelf of his own caution or ſpeculation, but could he deem the junction any thing but madneſs, if he knew the eſtabliſhed houſe, notwithſtanding its apparent affluence, and extenſive dealing, to be immerſed in debt, and had himſelf no means of judging of its reſources.

We are told that on account of the increaſed power of France, " ſo ought the ſtrength of the " Britiſh empire to be augmented," I admit it, but how will the incorporarion of the two Nations have that effect? Has the Parliament of Ireland ever refuſed, ever heſitated to contribute its full ſhare to the general ſervice of the empire—but by being a ſeparate Kingdom we are more open to French intrigue? And has Ireland been the only part of the Britiſh dominions, into which French emiſſaries have found their way—has England, has Scotland been totally free from them? What were the Bond's and the Sheares's of this Country, but the diſciples of the Hardy's and Thelwall's of London, of the Muir's and Margarot's of Edinburgh? 'tis true, taught by the dangers and the puniſhment of their maſters, they acted with more caution, and from thence became more formidable—and is it reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the vigilance of Adminiſtration in diſcovering, or its energy in ſuppreſſing the late Conſpiracy, would have been increaſed by the ſeat of Government being removed to a diſtance of four hundred Miles.

Again, " it is notorious, it is ſaid, that before " the Union Scotland had always a connexion and

" alliance with France, which ſince the Union " has totally vaniſhed? Her feelings, conduct " and policy, have ſince that period, been en- " tirely Britiſh." This I acknowledge would be a ſtrong argument, were it ſupported by the fact, but it is only neceſſary to refer to hiſtory to be convinced of its untruth. A ſtrong party remained in Scotland, attached to the Pretender, long after he had been forgotten in the other parts of the Britiſh empire. Where did the Rebellion in favour of the Pretender break out in 1715? where did he himſelf land in 1745, a generation after the Union, in Scotland? and why was it there? becauſe in Scotland, in united Scotland, his partizans were moſt numerous and powerful, while on on the contrary, Ireland not only remained perfectly quiet, but ſignalized herſelf at leaſt by profeſſions of zeal, in defence of the eſtabliſhed Government.

The Author to whom I have ſo often referred ſpeaking of the evils attending a diviſion of power, goes on to ſay " Franklin and Waſhington, the " founders of the American empire, had not cou- " rage in their firſt project of a Conſtitution for " the American States, to exclude this radical

" evil, but left each State independent.—So ſoon
" as the preſſure of neceſſity, which had confe-
" derated the States, ceaſed in conſequence of
" peace, the fault of ſuch a Conſtitution became
" evident: it was clear to men of common capa-
" city, that an empire conſiſting of thirteen inde-
" pendent ſocieties, without one common impe-
" rial controul, would ſoon divide into thirteen
" independent empires. To obviate this neceſ-
" ſary, though poſſibly diſtant conſequence, the
" wiſdom of the Americans projected a new Con-
" ſtitution, in which this original vice was reme-
" died. The ſeparate Independence of each State
" was wiſely relinquiſhed, a general Legiſlative
" and a general Executive were formed for the
" Government of the Union *in every imperial con-*
" *cern*, and each reſpective State was confined to
" local and municipal object," but does this ap-
ply? the Union between Great Britain and Ire-
land, will embrace not only *imperial Concerns*, but
the moſt trifling *local and municipal Objects*?—
What would Franklin and Waſhington have
thought of a plan of Conſtitution, by which the
ſupreme Power was to ſit in Philadelphia, and to
legiſlate for all America, from Boſton to Charleſ-
town, in every petty and private Regulation?

What could be expected from ſuch a Syſtem, but that it would immediately fall to pieces from its own unwieldy bulk. Even under her preſent arrangement, America appears to many of her Politicians, to be too large for a ſingle State, and a plan has been long in contemplation of dividing her into northern and ſouthern States.

It is acknowledged that this meaſure would be peculiarly detrimental to the Bar, but at the ſame time it is contended, that this very detriment will operate to the general benefit of the Country? Were the Bar alone concerned, I ſhould leave them to defend themſelves, I ſhould not preſume to be their Advocate, but I think the general intereſt of the Country, is deeply involved in the Fate of their Profeſſion. "It is a general habit "of the Gentlemen of Ireland to educate their "ſons at the Temple," and it is to that habit, to the liberal education that muſt precede, and to the knowledge of the World, that muſt be the conſequence, of ſuch an introduction into Life that the Gentlemen of Ireland owe their acknowledged Superiority, when conſidered as a Claſs, over thoſe of equal Rank in the Siſter Countries. Whence has this habit ariſen? From the Bar hav-

ing been conſidered, for many years as the moſt open and certain road to preferment of almoſt every kind.—If the Lawyer was to be confined to his mere technical buſineſs, few Gentlemen of conſequence and property, would educate their children for that profeſſion, it would of courſe decline in reſpectability, in a little time it would get into meaner hands, on the miſchief of which to the Community I need not expatiate.

" Land in England during times of peace, is ſold " from thirty to forty years purchaſe, in Ireland the " price of land ſeldom exceeds twenty years pur- " chaſe. The continual inſurrections in different " parts of the Country, of White Boys, Oak " Boys, Right Boys, Defenders and United Iriſh- " men, have made reſidence unſafe, and diminiſhed the certainty of rents and the value of " tenure," Is this a fair or candid ſtatement—has it been forgotten, that legal intereſt in this Country is ſix per Cent. and that in England it is only five—that twenty years purchaſe for land in Ireland, falls ſhort in income of what can be legally made of money by lending, nearly in the ſame proportion that twenty-five does in England—and and it is notorious that in England for the laſt ſeven years, notwithſtanding the abſence of the long Catalogue of White Boys, &c. Lands have rarely

exceeded the laſt mentioned Price. It is a maxim as old at leaſt as Tacitus, that,

Sublatis ſtudiorum pretiis, etiam ſtudia peritura.

" Ireland, independent Ireland, has at this " moment its commerce in all parts of the " World, protected without expence, by the " Britiſh Navy—her ſupplies for the year, are " chiefly raiſed by the Britiſh Miniſter in Eng- " land, on the faith of the Britiſh Parliament— " her country is protected from domeſtic and " foreign enemies, by Forty Thouſand Britiſh " Troops, at the expence to Great Britain of " Seven Hundred Thouſand Pounds a year." All this is true: but let it not be forgotten, that the Britiſh Navy is manned in a great proportion, by the natives of Ireland: that Ireland was, for a ſeries of years maintaining on her eſtabliſhment, Twelve Thouſand and after-afterwards Fifteen Thouſand Men, who were diſperſed over the Globe, fighting the battles of Great Britain. It was the almoſt defenceleſs ſtate, in which this Iſland was left in the middle of a war, notwithſtanding the numerous army in her pay, that was the proximate cauſe of embodying the Volunteers, whoſe ſervices were afterwards ſo ſignally beneficial to their country.

There is an argument which has been often urged with juſtice and ſucceſs, in oppoſition to the two great queſtions, which have agitated this Country for ſome years, and which applies at leaſt with equal force to the preſent propoſition, viz. our Country has been in an uniformly progreſſive ſtate of improvement, for many years; can it be wiſe or prudent, to riſque our preſent proſperity, in purſuit of an ideal advantage, particularly when a large majority of the people are adverſe to the experiment.

I have not overlooked, in the pamphlet above mentioned, the threats of England breaking her compact, in reſpect of the Linen Manufacture, and of her ſupporting the Catholics here as a means of maintaining her own Proteſtant eſtabliſhment; the ſneer at the Clergy, the reflection on the Volunteers, and many other things of the ſame ſtamp, which were I writing an expreſs anſwer to it, might call for ſome animadverſions, but with theſe and ſuch like, I have nothing to do, my purpoſe being only to *argue*.

I have now endeavoured to impreſs upon my Countrymen, the conviction I feel in my own mind of the impolicy of this meaſure, in ſo doing, it was my wiſh to diſcuſs the queſtion, with temper and moderation, to avoid all extraneous matter, and to give offence to none, in this at leaſt I hope I have ſucceeded.

UNCONNECTED HINTS

AND

LOOSE IDEAS,

&c. &c.

UNCONNECTED HINTS,

AND

LOOSE IDEAS

UPON THE

U N I O N,

WITH

TWO PROPOSITIONS.

BY A MEMBER.

A Roach is a fiſh of no great reputation for his dainty taſte; his ſpawn is accounted much better than any other part of him.—He is accounted the Water-ſheep for his ſimplicity and fooliſhneſs; and it is noted that a Roach recovers ſtrength, and grows in a fortnight after ſpawning.

WALTON'S ANGLER.

If a *Gudgeon* meet a *Roach*,
He dare not venture to approach,
Yet ſtill he leaps at flies.

SWIFT.

RIDENTEM DICERE VERUM, QUID VETAT?

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PREFACE.

I HAVE juſt this moment read a Pamphlet, and as I underſtand that many more will be ſhortly written, I haſten to give my ſentiments thereupon, as well as a few Arguments of my own, that, I flatter myſelf, will fix the fluctuating, and decide the determined.

My Two Propoſitions at the latter end, may appear ſomewhat heterogeneous to thoſe who are ignorant of the Papiſh and mechanick powers; but the inchitiated will do me the juſtice to think, that, though they never can by any poſſibility occur, they nevertheleſs comprehend the rational, the feaſible, and, under exiſting circumſtances I will venture to add, the neceſſary.

When

When I ſat down to compoſe the following ſheets, ſays I to myſelf,

> *Speak of me as I am—nothing extenuate,*
> *Or ſet down aught in malice.*

And, in truth, I have faithfully kept my promiſe—my opinion, ſentiments and feelings, flow warm from my pin—and the whole man is made manifeſt—but as a man's name has no ſort of connection with him, and as he has an incontrovertible right either to give or to withhold it, from the Publick—my intention, on the preſent occaſion, is, that my name ſhall be anonymous.

UNCONNECTED

UNCONNECTED HINTS,

&c.

AS an Union in general gives occaſion to a vaſt deal of diviſion, I think it is the duty of every mimber, as well of Parliament as of Society, to throw in his mite of pacification, and, as moſt certainly writing pamphlets is one way of keeping up the flame, I think people ſhould abſtain entirely from publiſhing, till the thing is decided one way or the other; for, before that happens, being all in the dark, little light can, by any means, be thrown upon the ſubject.

A great deal has been already ſaid upon this matter.—Some people will have it, that an Union will take place; others aſſert, that it will not—for my own part, I believe neither

the one nor the other, but follow implicitly the opinion of my worthy coadjutor in *repreſentation*—who declares, page 1, that it is only "rumoured."—I am an independent man, independent of my penſion; ſo, whether Government be pleaſed or diſpleaſed, I am free to confeſs, that an Union upon any terms, or upon no terms, is the only thing that can, in my mind, under exiſting circumſtances, do the buſineſs of Ireland. But before I offer any arguments upon this point, I think it neceſſary to make a few remarks on one or two pamphlets that have made their appearance on the other ſide; theſe I ſhall treat promiſcuouſly, as it were, and in a-devil-may-care way, which will, I think, be more pleaſanter to myſelf and my readers, than dry reaſonings, ſpeechifyings and *irreverent* inductions.

Mr. Weld, the Counſellor, begins with Scotland, which is, in my mind, a ſtrong proof of his Cockyeatthis ſcribbendi.—The Union, he ſays, (p. 5.) has been prejudicial to her, "though he adds in (p. 6.) fated to perpetual ſterility, that unfortunate country had nothing to loſe by a connexion with any other," which, in plain Engliſh, ſignifies that ſhe was deeply injured, though ſhe could not be worſe—why a corpſe

a corpſe might as well complain of being diſſected! This puts me in mind of a ſtory about a footpad, who ſtopped me ſome thirty years ago, before I got my penſion, when I had nothing to loſe, tripped my legs from under me, and robbed me of nothing at all—upon the ſame, I got up, and while he was looking another way, I knocked him down and cried out, Stop, thief; we went before a juſtice, and I was bound over to perſecute him; but unwilling to touch his life, I ſwore to the value of 4*s.* 9*d.* or ſome trifle of that kind, and the poor fellow was only tranſported for fourteen years.

"The quality of mercy is not ſtrain'd,
"It droppeth like a gentle Jew from Heaven,
"Upon the place underneath."

SHAKESPEARE.

But I deny that fact—totis virulence—Scotland, I inſiſt upon it, *has* profited by the Union; the evils that ſo long impended over the heads of the inhabitants, eſpecially of the metropolis, are now in great meaſure removed, and juſtice is adminiſtered with clean hands!—for almoſt all the capital houſes have neceſſaries, and not above thirteen out of twelve, of the natives, are tormented with the itch; whereas

before

before the corporation, the proportion was as twenty and nine.

He goes on in a very animated ſtrain to obſerve, amongſt a variety of other reaſons againſt the connection, that Ireland is environed by the ocean, juſt as if that were a cauſe of its ſeparation, or that God Almighty's ſurrounding one iſland with the ſea, was a *ſubſtantial* argument againſt its junction with another.—If ſuch an obſtacle is to prevent an Union of the kingdoms, it ſhould alſo have prevented an Union of the Diadems, and given us, which, the Lord of his infinite mercy forbid, but half a crown a-piece—and with regard to the King's reſiding in Britain (p. 6.) I muſt beg leave to obſerve, that if he did not, he would be an * abſentee, a claſs of individuals, which

* They may talk as they will about them, but I know my affairs never went on ſo ſwimmingly as when I was one. I was abſent only about eighteen months, and found on my return, two of the loveliеſt babes I ever laid my eyes upon. I remember it was about the time of the French Revolution; a week after my arrival, I was lying aſleep, and at two o'clock I wakened dreaming, a moſt extraordinary dream; indeed I was ſo agitated in my dream, that I wakened my Lady, and, My Lady, ſays I, do you know what I'm dreaming? No, ſays ſhe: Why then I'll tell you, ſays I.—I thought that the French landed and broke into our houſe—and

which the Counſellor, it ſeems, holds in contempt; for his Majeſty, God bleſs him, muſt live ſomewhere, as every body knows he could not be in the three kingdoms at the ſame time, unleſs, like Porteus, he was four or five gentlemen in one.

An Union with England, he exclaims, "will triple the number of abſentees."—Why was there ever ſuch nonſenſe? Why? ſure when by an Union the two kingdoms become one, there can be no abſentees at all, for then all the people that is in England will be in Ireland, and vicious verſes, all the people that is in Ireland will be in England. But no, ſays the Counſellor;—if an Union once takes place, the devil fire the one will ſtay in Ireland to extend the population; but, like the Elephants, they will keep it all to themſelves. The eſtated gentleman will diſplay his gold, (*guilt* I ſuppoſe he means) Carros in London; and the gentry will

and upon breaking in, that after obſtuperating you, they cut off my head, and put it on the table to ſtare me in the face.—Oh gracious! ſays ſhe, did you feel much pain?—No, in troth, ſays I; for I was ſo frightened with the whole tranſaction, that I remained quite inſenſible, till my head cried out to my body—Blood-an-ouns, Sir B. quis ſeparabit—to which I anſwered with the ſame tongue—Nabackliſh.

will live at Bath and Britchamſtone. The mechanic and manufacturer will emigrate to America; and, if the Lawyer does not follow them, he will parade "the abdicated hall of the Four-courts, and go each day from court to court; and when the crier and he are *ſeated*, in the Exchequer for inſtance, why then, the cryer will cry to the *empty* court, to-morrow God will ſave the king. As for the attornies, ſaving your preſence, like the Laplanders, they will ſet up a drum manufactory, as their wives did before them; or turn pawn-brokers." When there is nobody to borrow, and conſequently nothing to lend, "the* phyſician will

* I know he ſhall never phyſic me again, or more properly my lady; for indeed it was more her fault than the potticary's.—Laſt June twelvemonth I was in the country with a harneſs in my belly, and a rumbling noiſe that ſometimes cried whop; for which a little bole-almanack was proſcribed;—but after ranſacking the houſe, not even a directory was to be found; ſo what did my wife anontze to me do, but boils up an old greaſy Robinſon Cruſoe, which I have not yet, nor I fear never ſhall be able to digeſt. This alteration in the medicine was near coſting me my life, for I got the gout in my bowels, which aſcended, and ſettled in a great ſwelling in my toe; ſo having no ſhoes by me that were not fellows, I ordered a pear, one bigger than the other; but I leave you to judge what I muſt have felt in that preſent irritable ſtate, when upon trying to clap them on, I found the

will phyſic the dogs, and the muſicians, for they are fitters, will ſtrike a broken ſtring, and naturally enough produce a "diſcordant note," with an accompaniment of the cries of the killed; which, as he judiciouſly obſerves, will harmonize into the ſhape of a *dead march*. As for Dublin, he ſays, it will be entirely bediviled; the graſs is to grow in College-green, and all the houſes *to be let for ever*. Indeed in that idea he agrees with a friend of mine, who called on me the other day—Kildare is deſerted, he cried, and Wicklow is deſerted; but by *Jaſus*, if the Union takes place, Dublin will be more completely deſerted than Kildare and Wicklow *put together*.—Why what a prepoſterous argument is this?—Did the Union deſert Edinburgh?—No! the great majority of the towns-people remained there, becauſe they could go no where

the raſcal had made them, one a great deal leſs than the t'other.—Upon my credit my indignation ſo bothered the pain, and killed the anguiſh of it, that, weak and feeble and unable to ſtir, as I was, I leathered the fellow every yard down ſtairs, and deprived him of my cuſtom ever after. Indeed this circumſtance induced me at that time to think, and I am ſince confirmed in my opinion, that he was one of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen, who wiſhed to give me a ſpecimen of *equality*, and a hint that *he intended* ſoon to be on the *ſame footing* with me.

where elſe; and only thoſe emigrated, and thoſe only, who had either fortune or talents to ſupport themſelves elſewhere. And do not you think it would be exactly the ſame way in Dublin? *I am* poſitive it would. Though ſtrongly affected by a paſſage in (page 13.) my duty to the public prevents my feelings from carrying me away.—One gentleman aſks another, "whoſe lofty caſtle is that yonder, which, contemptuouſly, frowns upon that wretched hovel, more appropriately deſcribed by a *Twiſs?*" *—Sir, ſays the other, "it is a lordly abſentees;" ſee, behold, they both cry, the rain and the ſnow deſcending through the roof-leſs *walls* (which if made, as they uſually are, of *clay*, might be more appropriately called *filtering ſtones*) do you ſee his little innocents holding out their helpleſs, infantine, unpolluted hands to the elements, &c. &c.

"Now

* One would think the counſellor had gone far enough, but the Reverend Denis Taafe goes much farther, for not content with a hovel's being a Twiſs, he ingeniouſly calls the whole iſland, "to uſe a ſcripture phraſe," as he ſays himſelf,—"*a looking-glaſs*"—(ſee page 21 of his pamphlet)—If Ireland is this day your foot-ſtool; to uſe a ſcripture phraſe,—your—*infandum, regina!*—I imagine from the ſimilarity of their ſentiments, that the counſellor and the prieſt have been for a long time *pot-companions*, as upon this occaſion their ideas literally *flow* through the *ſame quill.*

Now all this, though I am ſure it is true, is very ſtrange, to me at leaſt; for in my parts the rain and the ſnow comes through the roof, and not through the walls; and if by unpolluted he means not dirty, upon my credit I do not believe there is a little garſoon in the country that would clean and cleverly anſwer the definition.

Of the Reverend Dennis Taafe, the Prieſt, I ſhall take no notice: I have every reaſon to believe him a Roman Catholic; and, therefore, will have nothing to do with him:—for that ſect there is but one remedy, which I ſhall point out hereafter.

The productions of Meſſrs. Spencer and Rudd, &c. who have names, and of the other friends to Ireland, who have none, I ſhall equally paſs over; they all appear to me to have thought the ſame way that the Counſellor thought, only he thought firſt. As to the Bar-meeting, I ſhall content myſelf with one obſervation.——* An individual, amongſt

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* Another gentleman thought fit to obſerve, that we were governed by the rump of an ariſtocracy.—Now I deny the fact

the ſpeechers, took upon him to ſay, God and Nature have ſeparated the kingdoms, and, by G—, they ſhall never be united. Now I ſay, by G—, they ſhall.—I do not intend commenting upon the indecent and obſcene impiety of his expreſſion, but comfort myſelf with the conviction, that my aſſertion will have as much weight as his; and my by G— be to the full as reſpectable.

Having cleared away the rubbiſh ſo far, I now come naturally to the delivery of my promiſed Arguments in favour of an Union.

And the firſt Argument I ſhall advance in its favour, is, that it will deſtroy the Iriſh Parliament.

My learned coadjutor very truly obſerves in page 11 of his inimitable pamphlet, that "the counſels for the government of Ireland are framed in the Britiſh Cabinet. The Government of Ireland is actually adminiſtered by a Britiſh

fact fundamentally;—but were it true, I think, as a chairman he has for ever de*grady*ed himſelf in the opinion of all parties.—The conflict between one of the oppoſitioniſts and my coadjutor, has thrown the former into ſuch a heat, that I really can only compare it to the battle of *Ball*i*namuck*.

Britiſh Lord Lieutenant, who diſtributes the patronage of the crown.—The Iriſh Parliament is ſuppoſed to be *in a great degree* ſubject to the Britiſh influence, and near one million of the rents of the kingdom are annually exported to abſentees; the jealouſies upon theſe points are great and unavoidable, and form the perpetual topics for inflaming the minds of the people in newſpapers, and the unvarying theme of complaint and invective by parliamentary oppoſition."

Beware, my Lord, of jealouſy, ſays Iago; it is a green-eyed lobſter, &c. the ſame obſervation I may with truth, apply to this country: Beware, my fellow-citizens, of your P——; it is a green-eyed lobſter, &c. but to drop the metaphor, and reſume the level tone of common ſenſe and ſerioufneſs, I am free to confeſs, that I agree moſt entirely with my learned and able coadjutor, in this opinion, what with bribery at elections, and corruption afterwards, the morals of the higher and lower claſſes are certainly contaminated; and after it is aſſembled, the trouble and expence of managing it is really terrible. Some of the gentlemen are ſo preſſing, and others ſo refractory, that to ſatisfy them all is next to impoſſible;

poſſible; and yet ſatisfied they muſt be, for "ſo long as we form part of the Britiſh empire, we muſt acknowledge one executive power, *one preſiding cabinet*, and it is of *indiſpenſible* neceſſity for *that cabinet*, to induce every part of the empire to purſue the ſame principles of action, and to adopt the ſame ſyſtem of meaſures, *as far as poſſible*; and as *the Intereſts of England muſt ever preponderate, a preference will be always given to her.* From all which it is clear, that "the Iriſh Parliament is, *in its inſtitution*, independent; but if it was *practically* ſo, the empire would be diſſolved, but that would be a great pity; therefore it muſt be practically dependant * on the

* One Swift, who was very properly perſecuted by Chief Juſtice Whiteſhit, took upon him to be of a different opinion—for, he ſays, talking about ſome raps that wanted to be current in thoſe times, "In this point we have nothing to do with *Engliſh miniſters*, and I ſhould be ſorry to leave it in their power to redreſs this grievance, or to enforce it. *The remedy is wholly in your own hands*, and therefore I have digreſſed a little, in order to refreſh and continue that ſpirit, (mind, that ſpirit!) ſo ſeaſonably raiſed amongſt you—and to let you ſee, that by the laws of God, of Nature, of Nations, *and of your own Country*, you *are, and ought to be as free a people as your brethren in England.*"—Did you ever hear the like?—pretty doctrine indeed—Why, if a man publiſhed ſuch ſeditious ſtuff now, he would run a great riſk of being half-hanged

the empire, and as the people are ſuch damned fools as to be diſſatisfied with this dependance, I am entirely of opinion that the beſt mode of removing the diſſatisfaction, is to confirm the dependance; and that annihilating the legiſlature, is the moſt effectual way of preventing the nation from diſparaging it. Reform is out of the queſtion—even Dr. M'Nevin has given that up.—No, a total alteration is your only alternative; for, ſince Mahomet won't come to the mountain, why, the mountain muſt go to Mahomet.

Perhaps I may be ſuſpected of talking intereſtedly upon the ſubject of parliamentary locomotion, becauſe the Houſe have not upon many occaſions liſtened to my idayas with all that gravity and ſerioufneſs which they certainly merited. Amongſt a variety of

hanged at the leaſt; but no matter what he ſays—for I have undoubted proof which I ſhall bring forward at the proper time, of his having been an United Iriſhman; and the Savour knows it too, with whom I never converſe, without carrying away a vaſt deal of *information*.—I imagine him to be related to Dean Swift, who made himſelf ſo buſy with the Statues of Trinity College; but noſetur a ſocis—tell me who you are, and I'll tell you where you live. Verbumb-Sat.

of inſtances, in which it did me the honour of laughing at me; there is one which I cannot omit, for having only ſaid three words, it is impoſſible I could have been ridiculous, as in the courſe of a long ſpeech, the beſt and moſt moral men may occaſionally and conſtitutionally be. A worthy friend of mine, about ſix years ago, who ſat by me one evening, and being unaccuſtomed to the buſineſs, was really ſtraining a point to make a motion, was informed by a grey-hound that his lady was ſafely delivered of a very fine child; about ten minutes after, the joyful intelligence arrived that another had made its appearance; and in half an hour more, Providence bleſſed him with a tird. My dear, Sir ——, ſays he to me, taking my hand, (Oh! I remember it as if it was to-morrow,) My dear, Sir ——, I am the happieſt man in the world; I have long wiſhed for a family, and having three babes at a time, in this manner, is, as it were, *killing two birds with one ſtone*; but as this muſt be very laborious to my wife, and as I don't, at preſent, wiſh for any further encreaſe to my family, I'll juſt ſtep home and tell her ſo; for if I remained to make my motion, ſhe might be bringing to-bed to oblige me for an hour or two longer. I muſt therefore

treſpaſs

treſpaſs upon you to make my apology: I acquieſced, and, as ſoon as I caught the Speaker's eye, delivered myſelf in the following manner, and I leave you to judge whether there was any thing to laugh at:—Sir, ſays I, an honourable friend of mine, who was ſtriving to bring on a motion, but whom circumſtances of a parental nature have conſtrained to move off, commiſſioned me to inform you, that his lady has been recently delivered from three twins; and as he could not diſcover here, whether they were obſcene or of the common of two, he ran home to be informed whether he was a father or a mother.

The next argument I ſhall offer in favour of the Union is, that it will reduce our money to the ſame ſtandard. It is a very great hardſhip upon our reſpectable abſentees, that what is a thirteen-pence at Ringſend ſhould be only twelve-pence at Harrowgate. I am very ſure, that to the Duke of Devonſhire, my Lords Courtenay and Landſdown, the Biſhop of Briſtol and the Widow O'Flanagan, it makes a difference of ſome hundreds per ann. The confuſion alſo that the youths of this country are ſometimes involved in, is clearly in favour of

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my poſition. I ſpeak from my own experience. I was ſure to be knocked down for an Iriſhman, the moment I ſaid, be pleaſed to give me two-pence half-penny out of my two-and-eight-pence, which is a very great diſadvantage to a man who wiſhes to riſe in England. Now, when the values of the coin is equalized, we ſhall give our money without aſking any queſtions, which will be more agreeable to the people at the other ſide, who are fond of ſaving us the trouble of ſpeechifying, and averſe to our aſking them for *change* of any deſcription.

The third Argument I ſhall bring forward is, the ſloth of the inhabitants of this country; it is a ſelf-evident propoſition which I ſhall endeavour to demonſtrate, that our natives are the moſt active people, with regard to every thing relating to idleneſs, that ever exiſted; and the cauſe of this is to be attributed to two things ſolely; Firſt, to their having nothing to do; and, Secondly, to their Parliament not ſufficiently taxing them. Is it not a ſin and a ſhame at this period of high civilization, when all the nations in Europe, except thoſe whom Great-

Great-Britain ſubſidizes, are making rapid ſtrides towards paper-gold and bankruptcy; that our country, which has ſuch a multitude of reſources, ſhould only have a flea-bite of fourteen millions on her back, while England has the honour of owing near five hundred. And now let me aſk, what is it enables her to pay the intereſt of this glorious debt? Why? the taxes ſhe impoſes! —And what is it that makes the Engliſh laborious, and frugal, and induſtrious? Why? the taxes they are obligated to pay! it is neither their agriculture, though it has been *nobly* encouraged of late, by a *national foundation* of *three thouſand a year.* It is not their commerce, for it is circumſcribed. It is not their manufactures, for they are declining, that have brought them to the ſtate in which they now are. No, but it is their taxes; and when we are united with them, and our repreſentatives have ſerved a ſlight apprenticeſhip to the Britiſh tax-mongers, and go hand in hand with them, who is ſo weak as not to be certain that we ſhall be reduced to exactly the ſame ſituation? Yes, the ſhittle will beat, and the ſludge will fly, and the loom will creek, and the needle will thread; from that propitious area, my poor deluded countrymen will be employed, they will be bleſſed with a ſtated

occupation, and have certainly ſomething to do, were it only to pay the taxes.

My fourth Argument, I am free to confeſs, may appear upon the face of it a little lucrative —it is this—the moment the Union occurs, and the Iriſh houſe is no more, our members, who will then be in Great-Britain, will get all their Engliſh letters free; this will not only prove a great national ſaving, but completely remove the neceſſity of our Parliament-mens' being obliged to pay poſtage, which, under our preſent, or, as in a few months it will be, more properly ſpeaking, our former ſyſtem, is a diſagreeable and degrading exception to their general law and invariable cuſtom, of paying nothing nor nobody at all. I ſaid, that this may wear the reſemblance of lucre, but it is certainly not that which in my particular inſtigates me—for all my connections in Great-Britain, it is well known, are pure Iriſh, ſo that I can ſafely aver I don't receive *an Engliſh letter* from one year's end to another.

The next, becauſe it is the fifth Argument I deprecate the public attention to, is founded on an idaya, in p. 27. of my worthy coadjutor's inimitable performance—"Whilſt Ireland re-"mains a ſeparate country from Great-Britain, "Great-

" Great-Britain is not *pledged* upon any *ſpecifick* " *principle to ſupport one ſect*, in Ireland, more " than *another*. If ſhe cannot preſerve the con- " nexion of the two kingdoms, by upholding " the Proteſtants in their eſtabliſhment, their " power, and their property; I know not by " what tie ſhe is debarred from *aſſiſting* the " Catholics; for whilſt the kingdoms are *ſe-* " *parate* and *independant*, Ireland, *except where* " *the Crown is concerned*, is merely bound by " the ties of intereſt to England, and in a " ſimilar manner, England is only bound by " the rights of the Crown and *the ties of in-* " *tereſt* to Ireland. She is pledged to preſerve " Ireland to the Britiſh Crown, but not to any " *particular means, or any particular principles* for " maintaining that connexion. But, if Ireland " was once united, &c. then the *whole power* " *of the empire would be pledged to the* Church " Eſtabliſhment of Ireland, &c."—Oh! for the love of God, I conjure, I deplore you, do any thing, do every thing, to perſuade Great-Britain from aſſiſting the Catholics—they are a terrible ſex!—They believe that the Pope is at Rome, and that a wafer is a neck of mutton, which is two things that I never will ſwallow. Let them once be taken by the hand, the Proteſtant aſcendancy becomes unſupportable, and of conſequence falls down.—Oh! haſten to cimint

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the Union, becauſe by that means, the empire will be pledged to maintain the Church eſtabliſhment, and conſequently debarred from aſſiſting the Papiſh, which would then ſit down quiet and contínted, becauſe there would be fourteen to one againſt him,* and conſequently, in Ireland, at leaſt, he would never hope to riſe into a majority.

But facts ſpeak for themſelves. I know what the Papiſh is, and if he acted ſo by me when I was a priſoner in a garret, what would he do if he had the whole nation in the ſame predickeyment? During the late combuſtion, it was my fate to be captivated, during which time I got red herrings and buttermilk for my breakfaſt, and ſometimes, by way of variety, nothing at all for my dinner. Such conduct, you may judge, threw me into a ſtate of deſpair. So one morning, by Jaſus, God forgive me, ſays I to myſelf, it is more fitter and decent for you, ſtill meaning myſelf, to defunk——but having no inclination to be damned over and above, being kilt, and recollecting that ſewaſide was a crime, I applied to the

* Darby, there is two to one againſt you.
O'Keefe.

the centry who was ſtanding over me, and, Sir, ſays I, would you be pleaſed to do an unfortunate gentleman a kind office, which he will never forget the longeſt day he has to live?—With all my heart, ſays he. What is it? To pike me, Sir, ſays I, making a low bow. Nothing would give me greater pleaſure, Sir, ſays he; but having received no orders, yet, it is totally out of my power to oblige you, unleſs you make it worth my while—upon which I tendered him a Beresford. My dear Sir, ſays he, I muſt beg leave to aſſure you, that I would not pike a cat, let alone a gentleman of your notoriety (as he was pleaſed to ſay) for all the Beresfords in the Bank—but give me a draught upon any good man in Dublin, and it will be the ſame to me as caſh. Accordingly I drew the bill, and I gave it to him; but he was relieved in two minutes afterwards, and I never ſaw the thief from that area till about two months ago, when the bill came to me proteſting that it muſt be paid; but I proteſted that I would not, for I had no idaya of being cheated after ſuch a manner; if he had piked me, well and good—but being alive, and under no manner of obligation to him,

him, I reſolved to be litigious; ſo into the courts we came, and after the Counſellors on both ſides had finiſhed their reſpectful botherations, to make a long ſtory ſhort, the Judge inſiſted upon looking at the peaper, and after peruſing it, Pray, Sir, ſays he to me, do you ever recollect having been kilt at any period of your life?—No, my Lord, ſays I, for Paddy Foy or Berer was relieved; why then, ſays he, looking up at the jury,* the caſe is clear,—you muſt nonſuit the plaintiff, as the defendant never got any value received.—Beware, I ſay again, and again I repeat it, of the Papiſh,—he will neither pike you nor ſtarve you to death; and if reſintment at ſuch conduct induces you to make away with yourſelf, by Jaſus he will go to law with you after you are dead, and inſtead of letting the Coroner bring in, *a died ſuddenly of a lingering diſeaſe*; he will blow upon your memory, with a *ſe defindindo*.

And this naturally leads me to my ſixth and laſt but one Argument, which is this, that whenever

* As the public may be curious to know the verdict, I will mention it, ſix-pence-halfpenny damages, and a pinch of ſnuff for the coſts.—I remember Mr. Mc. D—, the Tobacconiſt, was fourmen upon Eſſex-bridge.—*Quid* rides.

whenever the Union takes place, we ſhall loſe the reproachful appellation of Iriſhmen:—this, ſome ſqueamiſh ſtomachs may find hard to digeſt; but truſt me they will be very few;*—and let me aſk them, who in their ſenſes would boggle at exchanging an old coat for a bran new livery; or who, to put it in another point of view, that had the misfortune of being deſcended from an A, or a B, or a C, or, as I ſaid before, from an A B of C, would not ſeek to get rid of his name by ſinking it even in a feminine fortune, or wrapping it up, like obſcenity, in a title—Name! what is name! *does not every woman change her name, and why ſhould not we?*—Anſwer me, you patriots at large, have not things been done here that make us weep for ſome Iriſhmen, and bluſh for others? and ſhall we

* As there may be ſome people found weak enough, or wicked enough, to read the Drapier's Letters; I beg leave, particularly, to warn them againſt the following paſſage; "A people long uſed to hardſhips loſe, by degrees, the very notions of liberty; *they look upon themſelves as creatures at mercy*, and that all impoſitions laid upon them by *a ſtronger hand* are *legal and obligatory*;—hence proceed that *poverty* and *lowneſs* of ſpirit to which *a Kingdom* may be ſubject as well as a particular perſon;—and when Eſau came fainting from the field, at the point to die, it is no wonder *that he ſold his Birthright for a meſs of pottage.*"

we regret a title that every way affects us, either with ſorrow or with ſhame? Away with it! away with it!—Henceforward we will be *Great Britaniſts*—for being neither Iriſh nor Scotch, we have no alternative.—Come, Union, then—heal our difference, abſorb our blood, and deſtroy our diſtinction—embark when you pleaſe, for the moment you land, *we are Iriſhmen no more!*

The ſeventh, becauſe it is the laſt Argument I have to offer, is founded on the ſecond and third natural effects of a *favourable legiſlative Union*, according to my reſpectable and much-eſteemed coadjutor; viz. Secondly (ſee page 26) Ireland would be in a *natural ſituation*, for all the Proteſtants of the empire being united, ſhe would have the proportion of *fourteen* to *three* in favour *of her eſtabliſhment*; whereas at preſent there is a proportion of three to one againſt it; and thirdly, the Catholics would loſe the advantage of the argument of *numbers* which they at preſent enjoy, and the conſtitution of the empire would agree with the theory.

This

This is ſo exceedingly plain, clear, and downright, that I hardly think it neceſſary to ſay a word on the ſubject; for what does it amount to?—In Ireland, *as it is*, the Catholics are three to one—in the empire, *as it will be*, the Proteſtants will be fourteen to one; conſequently, in the empire, *as it ought to be*, the Proteſtants in Ireland will be as fourteen to one;—why ſure this is undeniable—the rule of three direct, in vulgar arithmetic, to a fraction.—The conſequences of ſuch an increaſe, it requires but little ſagacity, to diſcover—a multiplication of biſhops and aſcendancy—a ſubſtraction of prieſts and combuſtion—peace, harmony, and orange lillies, not forgetting the *grinder*.—A ſtop will be put to canvaſſing for burroughs, and the electors will ceaſe to be bribed and corrupted—we will ſend a cargo* of repreſentation, by long ſea, to Weſtminſter,

 and

* As ſo valuable a freight muſt have a convoy *of Revenue Cutters*, (for I am ſure no Iriſhman would inſure it,) I beg leave to ſuggeſt to our merchants the phizibility of exporting, by the ſame opportunity, a few hundred tons of our Kilkenny Coal to Newcaſtle, and of our Kinnegad Cheeſe to Glouceſter;—it will prove a moſt beneficial ſpeculation, as I underſtand their manufactory of the former article is on the decline.

and take, in return, a budget of right good genuine Britiſh taxes, *neat* as imported; we ſhall be all upon a footing with regard to felicity, though a few may be *lords of the aſcendant*; this, and a great deal more, (which I ſhall not expatiate on till I ſee whether it will exiſt or not,) muſt be the neceſſary conſequence of an Union—a meaſure, which therefore, as the lover of my country, I ardently languiſh for;—nor is this to be wondered at, ſeeing, as I do, that the nations are united under one Crown, and only ſeparated under the ſame legiſlature.—To this purpiſs I have ſpoken, and having ſpoken thus, I withdraw.—It now remains to add this ſupplication:—However it may pleaſe the Almighty to diſpoſe of Princes and Parliaments, may ſuch a ſeparation of the kingdoms laſt for ever; or may their Union, before it takes place, be immortal!

PROPOSITION

PROPOSITION I.

FROM what has occurred in the foregoing pages, I might be made to think that Union would *immediately* compoſe all our differences, and impart to us tranquillity and peace;—but this I depreciate,—for my ſincere opinion is, that four or five years might elapſe before this meaſure would make Ireland what ſhe ought to be, and what ſhe *certainly* will become.

One circumſtance, and one circumſtance only, can pave the road towards the expedition of theſe deſirable objects, quiet and eaſineſs; and I offer it to the country at large, in the full conviction that it will meet with the ſerious and deep attention that it deſerves.

Want of unanimity, and eſpecially on religious topics, has been the bean of this iſland.—To re-eſtabliſh this, appears to me to be the grand diſſideratum;—and ſince the late unhappy combuſtion, has induced the Proteſtant to adhere to his tenets with increaſed tenacity, but one mode of reſtoring concord remains; and if the Catholics of this kingdom will not be univerſally obliging enough to turn Proteſtants,

Proteſtants, I fear that the two perſuaſions muſt continue diſunited, and all thoſe conſequences follow that have gone before.

But as it might hurt the majority's pride to ſuckum in the way I have juſt now pointed out, four or five alternatives preſent themſelves to me, by which they may eſcape this mortification;—the firſt, though in the event it may be military to the intereſts of the aſcendancy, I will nevertheleſs ſuggeſt, for quiet is my firſt object, and all other conſiderations are in general inferior to that which is paramount;—there are five millions of all ſorts in the kingdom;—ſuppoſe then that the Papiſhes changed into Proteſtants, till two millions and a half—if they could be brought even to do this, though in the event we ſhould have much more weight than they, the two ſexes would be in equalliberio, and the Miniſter, like an aſs between two bundles of he, would be equally beneficial to both, becauſe he would not be obligated to aſſiſt neither.

And let nobody flout at theſe religious alterations and additions;—every day's experience proves the propriety of *changing ſides* in general, and particularly when any great object

is

is to be attained, while antiquity ſanctions it with her antient great ſeal.

The founder of the changling ſex was Pithagoras's;—he left his country, becauſe it was governed by a tyrant, and travelling far and wide in ſearch of knowledge, ſettled at laſt in that part of Italy which is called Greece; he was celebrated for learning, a gold thigh, and an odd idaya;—he averred that a freeman could be converted into a ſlave, a miniſter into an apoſtate, a commiſſioner into a petty prince, and a biſhop into a leader of a party.—He declared that he himſelf, at different periods of his exiſtence, had been an expectant at a great man's levee;—then a clerk,—then a M— of P—, then a ſecretary, and then a Union-monger; he afterwards meandered into a footman, inſpired a Ballad-ſinger, was ſtrained through a pimp, vivified the wrigglings of a maggot; and, finally, animated the aſpirations of a louſe;—and who can ſay "that the laſt ſtate of this man was not better than the firſt?"*—he called his doctrine metemſicoſis, which is the latin for tranſmogrification, would have nothing to do with *beans*, and of courſe abſtained from *corporations*, and ſpoke a vaſt deal in favour of ſilence; which leads me to think

* Vide ſomewhere in the Teſtament.

think that he muſt have been either a page of the back-ſtairs, or a Privy Counſellor.

My firſt expedient being perhaps impracticable, I ſhall not inſiſt upon it;—but on my ſecond, I own, I found the ſtrongeſt hopes, ſupported as it is, by expediency, reaſon, and Pithagoras;—on this ſubject, I ſhall, therefore, ſay no more, but deviate into my

SECOND

SECOND PROPOSITION,

WHICH, as I well know the generoſity of my native countrymen, I am very ſure they will accede to.——— It is a fact agreed to on all hands, that the trade of Dublin will not be improved by the Union; indeed ſome people go ſo far as to aſſert, that it will be injured, which I do not care a farthing about; for Cork, Kilkenny, Dunleary, Waterford, and, in fine, all the other principal ſeaports in the kingdom will be benefited; and it is a well-known maxim in politics, that harm *ought* to be done, becauſe good will come of it;—if this be ſo, as we ſhall have very little, if any occaſion, for our Cuſtom-houſe, my humble ſuggeſtion is, that the Commiſſioners do write a polite card to Mr. P—, requeſting his acceptance of the ſame;* and as the one in London is

* Thoſe who are unacquainted with Archimedes may laugh at the idea of removing the Cuſtom-houſe—they ſhould recollect, however, that he lifted a man of war with a lever, and would have done the ſame with the world if he had had any thing to ſtand upon. If this be ſo, why ſhould not the people, at the other ſide, contrive to move it *ſomehow with a ſpring?* —And let me aſſure theſe gentlemen infiddles, that the laugh will be completely againſt them, when ſome morning or other they

is too old to bear a removal to our Liffey, I would at the ſame hint the phizibility of converting the Parliament-houſe, which will then be equally unoccupied, into the Cuſtom-houſe; it is already contagious to the water, and when the dirty dwellings in Fleet-lane are thrown down, it will be much nearer; but at all events, the water may be brought cloſer to it, or perhaps it may be found leſs expenſive to approximate it towards the water; the Committee Chambers will make excellent offices; the Houſe of Lords become the apartments of *the tide-waiters*; and the Houſe of Commons, as it ſtands, is, as every body knows, admirably calculated for a *Long-Room.*

At this moment, particularly, it is eſſentially neceſſary to keep England in good humour; and I don't think we could hit upon a genteeler or prettier don damitchy than that I have juſt now propoſed as a Chriſtmas Box, and

they will ſee their Cuſtom-houſe departed, and not a veſtitch of it remaining, but the quays and the Dock, and the little houſe that tells about the tides. But incredulity is grown to a terrible pitch—we will go on diſbelieving, till at length we'll finiſh by diſbelieving nothing at all.——Oh tempora—oh mores.

and when this is received, I ſee nothing to hinder us from throwing our trade into the bargain, as a token of our gratitude and attachment, in the ſhape and under the denomination of a New Year's Gift. I ſhall conclude with obſerving, that this ought to be done immediately, and of conſequence, before the Union takes place; for if it be delayed till *after* that meaſure, we can in fact *give* nothing. Once married to England, our poſſeſſions, like a wife's, merge in the prerogative of the huſband; let us therefore precipitate our gift, while it yet continues in our power to impart; for afterwards, it would be the very driveling of vanity to affect generoſity, when in reality we ſhall have nothing left to beſtow.

THE END.

OBSERVATIONS

ON A

PAMPHLET,

SUPPOSED TO BE WRITTEN BY AN ENGLISHMAN,

ENTITLED,

ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST AN

UNION.

BY A STUDENT OF TRINITY COLLEGE.

When a ſtranger offers his ſervices, we have reaſon to look to ourſelves.

ÆSOP'S FABLES.

DUBLIN:

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1799.

AN

ANSWER, &c.

THE ſubject of an Union with Great Britain had been for ſome time conſidered vague and without any foundation. But now we have every reaſon for ſuppoſing that the ſole object of the Britiſh Cabinet is to have the Britiſh and Iriſh legiſlature incorporated; this is a ſubject of the greateſt importance and magnitude to the people of this kingdom, if we regard that independence for which we ſtruggled ſo long. But is this a time to diſcuſs this momentous ſubject? ſome people will ſay not, and that we ought to ſuſpend every opinion

opinion on it till we can aſcertain upon what terms an Union will be made; away with ſuch idle talk, who can be ſo blind as not to ſee the terms when he reads the pamphlet *for and againſt an Union*; who can be ſo ſtupid as not to know that an *Union* is in agitation, when a man high in office takes upon him to enumerate the many advantages that muſt reſult to this kingdom from an Union? the ſow in the fable ſhould warn us *that when a ſtranger offers his ſervices we have reaſon to look to ourſelves.* I ſay that now is the time to diſcuſs this ſubject, while we can uſe that freedom of ſpeech which an Union may check, and while the preſs, that national organ, remain to convey our ſentiments.

The firſt and indeed the moſt ſerious alarm, was ſounded by a confidential friend to the Engliſh Government, and I am ſorry to find, that any gentleman ſhould endeavour to impoſe arguments upon the Iriſh nation, the moſt erroneous that could be poſſibly dictated; you are, I am informed, an Engliſhman, this may palliate your guilt; as a motive of patriotiſm may induce you to aggrandize your own country; but it ſhould not be at the expence of impoveriſhing ours, I don't charge you with corruption,

but

but I clearly see that your intention is to corrupt and bias the minds of Irishmen by false reasoning.

You begin by taking an abstract view of *two independent states whose separate existence is mutually inconvenient till they form themselves into an Union, this was, you say, the case with the Romans and the Sabine States*, these States were joined by nature, they were not separated by any sea or straight, and from some circumstances, became afterwards united; if the Romans and Sabines, thought it their mutual advantage to unite and cease from the wars in which they were engaged at that period, how far does that prove that Ireland which is separated by nature should unite with England? these two kingdoms are connected by *a constitutional confederation*, they are not at war with one another as the Sabines and Romans were, the rude and uncivilized government of infant Rome is not like ours; what similitude is there in the trade, commerce, customs, constitution, religion and laws of Rome and ours? not the smallest. Did you think that the Irish were ignorant of the history of that country, and that your words would

be

be conſidered as infallible? if you did, you are miſtaken, your reference to ancient politics in their primitive ſtate and not yet modelled by the hand of experience, cannot convince us that ſuch a ſyſtem if adopted by this country would be the *ſummum bonum* of our happineſs; if thoſe two ſtates mutually agreed to unite and that the ſubjects of Tatius and Romulus unanimouſly concurred to become *one and indiviſible*, it does not appear as yet, that the people of Ireland are willing to unite with England, and therefore a compariſon made between two kingdoms diametrically oppoſite in nature and policy, cannot in ſound ſenſe and reaſon be conſidered ſufficiently cogent or in any poſſible manner, an argument why Ireland ſhould unite with England, or that an Union would contribute to our happineſs and grandeur.

Your argument concerning the Saxon Heptarchy is in every degree as abſurd; true it is that the ſeven kingdoms became united into one empire, but can England and Ireland become one empire? not till the Atlantic by the force of its waters, ſhakes Ireland from its foundation, and like an unwieldy flotilla laſhes it to the

Engliſh

Engliſh ſhore. Hiſtorians tell us that Sicily was once joined to Italy, I ſhould not be ſurpriſed if this ſubtle reaſoner told us that Ireland was once really *united* to England, till it was torn from it by the force of the waters. You aſk us did the people of *the Saxon heptarchy loſe their independence*? oh abſurdity! what analogy has the independence of the heptarchy of England, to the independence of Ireland? this country was once a teſſarachy, and did it loſe its independence when Henry the II. annexed it to England? it was forced to do ſo, as to the heptarchy they were forced to unite; with whom? with Engliſhmen? that is Engliſhmen united with Engliſhmen, wonderful indeed. Wales and Scotland * were originally joined by nature, they underwent many changes from time to time under different princes, notwithſtanding all their changes they are now united, ſuch are the effects of nature, *naturam expellas furcâ tamen uſque recurret*; he aſks us, how is a Welchman degraded by being repreſented in the Britiſh Parliament? I aſk in turn how is a Munſter-man degraded by being repreſented in the Iriſh Parliament?

* See Mr. Spencer's pamphlet on the ſtate of Scotland.

liament? but it is highly degrading to him to be repreſented in a country which he may never caſt his eyes upon.

The compariſon you make with reſpect to an Union *is to a partnerſhip in trade, you ſay if a merchant for want of credit and capital, cannot carry on trade it will be of advantage to ſuch a perſon to unite himſelf with an extenſive and wealthy firm*, now are we to conſider Ireland as a bankrupt without credit or capital, and England the extenſive and wealthy firm? this muſt be the meaning of your argument, then ſee how the matter ſtands; the national debt of England is 500 millions of money, the debt of Ireland 10 millions, does England exceed Ireland in wealth and population, in the ſame proportion that ſhe exceeds her in the national debt? grant that England does, and why do I grant it, do you aſk, to ſhew if this be the caſe, England would not be ſo willing to incorporate with us, I ſay unleſs ſhe was ſure of gaining conſiderably by it. As for my part, I ſhould think it imprudent in an extenſive and wealthy merchant to take a bankrupt into partnerſhip, if the Engliſh miniſ-

ter

ter ſees us overwhelmed in debt and reduced to the loweſt ebb of diſtreſs, would it be politic in him to take us into partnerſhip? If compaſſion did not operate on him, prudence never could; if on the other hand, he ſees us wealthy and every proſpect before us of becoming more proſperous, would not policy dictate to him a plan of uniting with us? Yes, ſurely. Now as both kingdoms ſtand in point of wealth, commerce, art, ſciences, and if England excels us in every ſingle matter of thoſe in a tenfold proportion, if ſhe is able to ſupport herſelf and ſwim acroſs the pool in which Ireland would be ſwallowed up, would it not be the height of folly to ſay, Ireland we ſee you ſinking, and we are willing to plunge ourſelves into inevitable deſtruction to try to ſave you? Believe me that England, or rather the Engliſh miniſter, is no fool, he ſees his intereſt in ſubjecting us to his own country and reducing us to a petty province. But if there is an Union, ſurely Ireland is not reſponſible for the 500 millions of money; grant it; the Britiſh Parliament will promiſe not to charge to

our account a debt which we never contracted. Muſt Ireland be reſponſible for any debts that ſhall be contracted after the Union? why not? We are told that our trade and commerce will not be limited; ſo that if England carries on the war for a few years more, the conſolidated debt of England and Ireland muſt be many millions more; but we are told by this pamphleteer, that it does not avail, an Union will make up for any debt or impoſt, an Union will compenſate us for our independence. *O tempora! o mores!* who will believe it? no Iriſhman. Have you not repreſented the Iriſh as immoral, uncivilized and irreligious, divided by civil and religious diſcontents, torn aſunder by rebellion and convulſed by inſurrections? have you not on the other hand buzzed into the ears of Europe, the civilized ſtate of the Engliſh, the ſimplicity of their morals, and their ſtrict adherence to the laws of their country? If this be the caſe, which muſt be ſo, when it comes from the mouth of an *Engliſhman*, and as it ſeems diveſted of all *prejudice* and *partiality*, how is it natural to imagine that the moral *Engliſhman*, will

aſſociate

aſſociate with the vicious *Iriſhman*, that the opulent and extenſive Engliſh merchant will join int rade with the poor and perfidious *Iriſhman*? You might as well aſſert that the fierce tyger would live in amity with the innocent lamb, or the voracious falcon with the mild dove; but you will ſay that animals never formed by nature to agree, will become reconciled by time and cuſtom, and that the kingdom at a future period will become the repoſitory of wealth and grandeur, when the *wild Iriſh* become incorporated with the *docile Engliſh*; this at moſt is but a promiſe, and how are the Iriſh to fare till the promiſe will be accompliſhed? I ſuppoſe as well as we can. I think that the old adage may be applied here with ſome propriety, *live horſe and you will get graſs*. I fear that before that period many of us will emigrate to ſome foreign country; but why do I talk of emigration? happy would it be if we were allowed to emigrate from an impoveriſhed country; we muſt remain here to ſupport abſentees, who will grind us, to ſupport pride, vain glory and ambition; this will be one good effect reſulting from an Union;

tradeſmen

tradeſmen and manufacturers, muſt for want of work enliſt or get into the navy, and very opportunely one hundred and twenty thouſand men are wanting at preſent to man the navy. Sparta at one time thought it prudent to ſtop her trade in order to man her fleets.

Another very ſubſtantial reaſon you aſſign for an Union is, that the ſtate of France dictates its policy. You ſay that France has not only united to her and incorporated a great addition of territory, but has rendered abſolutely dependant on her will, almoſt all the ſmall ſtates that ſurround her; now I candidly aſk you, would it be ſound policy in England to adopt plans ſimilar to France? to extend principles which every honeſt man deteſts; to uſe ſuch political meaſures as would incorporate England and Ireland, and to make them *one* and *indiviſible*? this would militate againſt that principle of juſtice and honour which has dignified England; it would be repugnant to that virtuous ſyſtem of policy which has raiſed the head of England ſo much above other countries, *quan-*

tum

lum lenta ſolent inter viburna cupreſſi. Is this plain reaſoning? I hope I don't give you offence while I expoſe your errors; I am not perſonal, nor would I wiſh to be ſo, though my indignation would often prompt me; virulence of ſpeech is no way to confute an argument.—This country cries out againſt an Union, except thoſe who, in your own words, are under *Britiſh influence*; the voice of the people, as Locke ſays, muſt ſway in every country, our inceſſant cry is *Britiſh connexion, but no Union.* The loyaliſts in this country are exceedingly numerous, and willing to ſupport the preſent laws and conſtitution, but if this *conſtitution* is changed, or any innovations made to deſtroy *legiſlative independence*, I dread the conſequences. I am a loyaliſt, and ſhould be very ſorry to ſee this country ſeparated from England, and I ſhould be equally ſorry to ſee it united; though well I love England I love my own better, ſaid the *old Iriſh Patriot*; it would be contrary to the firſt principle of nature to love another better than himſelf. The loyaliſts have ſaved this country, their

zeal

zeal and activity is unparalleled in the page of hiſtory, and now the forcing an Union down the throats of thoſe who ſtepped forward in the hour of danger, would be well rewarding their toils, their labours, and voluntary contributions.

But to return to your elaborate eſſay on an Union; you tell us that the ſovereign reſides in England; and ſo he does; you ſay that it is the repoſitary of wealth and grandeur; why not, when you tell us that *one million* of money goes annually from this country to abſentees, won't an Union encreaſe the number of abſentees and coax them from this country? you admit it, won't this conſequently diminiſh the wealth of this kingdom? what compenſation can England make us for all the tradeſmen and manufacturers, all the Iriſh Peers and repreſentatives that an Union will carry over? is there any probability of any coming here from England? they did not come here while we enjoyed peace and harmony; but you tell us that a free trade and the advantages of a more extenſive commerce, will in-

duce

duce them to come and ſettle in this kingdom; abſurd talk, a learned gentleman has already obſerved "that we can trade to any "part of the globe except the Eaſt Indies, and "how can an Union give Ireland more of this "trade than it poſſeſſes, for it would in caſe "of an Union as well as now only be allowed "to ſhare in it by individual merchants, be-"coming proprietors of Eaſt India ſtock." You ſay that Scotland previous to the Union, ſtood as Ireland does at preſent, I deny it: Scotland in the firſt place is joined by nature to England, Ireland is not ſo, it was foolish prejudice that annexed Scotland, for which ſhe afterwards repented, and this argument of yours in favour of an Union between England and Ireland, ſhews us why Ireland ſhould not unite with England. When a tax upon malt was oppoſed by the repreſentatives of Scotland in the Britiſh houſe, what did it avail? how did England treat the Scotch Peers? were not the articles of the Union violated in the face of Europe? is this to us an inducement for an Union? does it not prove to us that England can in deſpite of the number of

incorruptible

incorruptible Iriſh repreſentatives which will ſit in the Engliſh houſe, ſubject Ireland to any tax or contribution it pleaſes? if you had omitted this argument it would not have diſplayed ſo much of the power and preponderancy of Engliſh influence. Look to the Union that Margaret Queen of Denmark made, when ſhe united under one head Denmark, Norway and Sweden. What was the conſequence? the moſt bloody wars enſued, which continued for many years. Now Denmark and Sweden are ſituated exactly as Ireland and England; they are ſeparated by a ſea, and when an Union was formed, the reſult was pernicious to both countries; theſe are the ſalutary effects of an Union. In every argument of yours in ſupport of an Union, it is ſuch as if nature deſigned the countries you have mentioned for an Union. If a perſon has a great tract of land over which he preſides himſelf, ſuperintends and manages every part of it, extends his care to all who derive any thing under him, will not this place be freer from diſſenſion and wealthier, than if the ſame perſon has another tract of ground intercepted by a ſea, where a parcel of idle,

idle, lazy ſtewards defraud, extort and compel poor tenants to remit their yearly rents? certainly. Now I leave you to apply the parallel; the ſeven United States you have brought down as an example; what example is this or what argument? does it appear that one million of money went from one ſtate to another to abſentees? that all the wealth of thoſe ſtates were collected to one place, like the rays of the ſun when brought to a focus? this will not be the caſe with Ireland, all the hard earned wealth muſt go to another iſland; there was no iſland among theſe United States; beſides their Union was federal and incorporated; you have told us that the *Iriſh Parliament* is under the influence of the Britiſh Cabinet, then if Britiſh influence operates ſo powerfully at this ſide of the *ſea*, how much greater muſt it be when a few Iriſh repreſentatives come in contact with a phalanx of Britiſh repreſentatives? I have always heard, and I believe it to be the caſe, that the nearer we approach a diſorder the ſooner we catch the infection.

Poland you ſay was deſtroyed by the *Imperium in imperio*, where every ſenator was a ſovereign; this vice cannot deſtroy our conſtitution, becauſe we have no ſuch vice; ſurely our ſenators are not ſovereigns, you might as well aſſert that our conſtitution will be deſtroyed becauſe we are governed by the Beys of Egypt. I dare ſay your *amanuenſis* or *clerk* had aſſiſted you in this ingenious production.

France threatens the deſtruction of this country, but will an Union with England better protect us than ſhe does at preſent? will an *Union* make the Iriſh more averſe to French principles? will the ſound of the word *Union* make us better ſubjects, or inſpire us with enthuſiaſtic loyalty to ſtem the impetuous torrent of democracy? as the ſound *evoe* inſpired the Bacchanalians with wild enthuſiaſm. Impoſſible to think that in theſe enlightened days, when the dark miſt of idolatry is diſpelled, that any word has ſuch a ſupernatural quality.

Again,

Again, to ſupport an *Union*, you tell us that the Roman Catholics are three to one in this country, and that they will not drop their claims to political equality; do you mean by this to terrify the Proteſtants and calumniate the Roman Catholics? true it is, that ſome of the lower order, nay many of the Roman Catholics, were uſed as a machine in the hands of the fomenters of the late foul rebellion; but who were thoſe fomenters? were they Roman Catholics? I never heard they were. Was Lord Edward Fitzgerald a Roman Catholic? was Emmet, was Sheares, was Arthur O'Connor? no; therefore I do not conſider it fair or juſt to leave ſo foul an imputation upon the body of the Roman Catholics. Did not the moſt reſpectable Roman Catholics in the kingdom reprobate the conduct of thoſe who joined in the rebellion? did they not exhort the people to return to their allegiance and become amenable to the laws of their country? ſo that when we know this to be certainly the caſe, there is no reaſon for the Proteſtants to apprehend any danger to their properties or perſons. Indeed an infuriate mob of any perſuaſion,

perſuaſion, without any ſubordination commit the foulest crimes; but even granting that the Roman Catholics are as three to one, how will an *Union* encreaſe the number of Proteſtants ſo as that we will have the proportion of fourteen to three? this is a problem which may puzzle all the mathematicians in Europe. I ſuppoſe you intend to prove it by an *argumentum ad abſurdum.* Your encouragement to the Roman Catholics of an admiſſion at a future day to additional immunities, and menacing them in the ſame page, is the cleareſt proof of the deep laid ſyſtem of an *Union.* Juſt as if you ſaid, ye Proteſtants of Ireland take care, *cavete*; the Roman Catholics will annihilate you; and you Roman Catholics ſhall get political privileges by joining us in an *Union.* I have no doubt but the Engliſh Miniſter argues thus with himſelf; if we grant the Roman Catholics every political privilege and of courſe a ſeat in Parliament, what influence can they have? ſuppoſe the majority of the Iriſh repreſentatives be Roman Catholics, or if even the whole of them in the political ſcale (I was going to ſay ſcheme) their influence

fluence or preponderance will be juſt as a fly againſt an ox; my opinion of the Roman Catholics is, that no offer on the part of the Britiſh Miniſter will induce them to ſacrifice the honour and independence of their country for a ſeat in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons; no man is fool enough to act like the dog that let go the *ſubſtance* to catch at a *phantum*.

You ſay that an *Union* will put an end to religious ſtrifes; what ſtrifes between Proteſtants and Roman Catholics? could any people live in greater amity and harmony, than thoſe people till perverted politics fomented ſome jealouſies which are dwindling away every day? and I venture to ſay, that every ſpecies of animoſity will ſubſide before the expiration of one year; the eyes of the Catholics are now open; the political horizon has gone down, and now the illuminating rays of reaſon are diſpelling the gloomy clouds of prejudice.

I aſk how will an Union modify the civil and eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments, when the

Iriſh

Iriſh Legiſlature becomes incorporated with the Britiſh? What, cannot civil and eccleſiaſtical modifications be made now? No, we are told not, becauſe until we give up our rights and independence, the Britiſh Legiſlature cannot make any ſuch changes in our Church or State. By our acceding to ſuch terms, by our giving up our rights, we ſhould diſplay as much ignorance on our part, and act as abſurdly as a man who would give up the leaſe of his ground, under a promiſe of getting a longer leaſe in a few years: There is an old proverb, and a true one,—A bird in the hand is worth two in the buſh.

How will an Union put a ſtop to conteſted elections? I ſhall tell you how it will affect elections: the honour of obtaining a ſeat in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons will ſo tickle the vanity of modern Patriots, that no expence will be a bar, no attempt will be left uneſſayed, in order to attain ſo honourable a poſt; there will be no occaſion for ſending to the palatinate of Germany for freeholders, our abſentees or in other words, the men of overgrown property, will, as conſidering themſelves

themſelves ſo many ſhining planets revolving round the Britiſh Miniſter, aſſert and claim a ſuperiority over Iriſhmen, whom they will conſider as ſo many ſatellites, they will portion out into ſmall lots, thoſe lands which for many years before yielded ſome ſupport to the induſtrious cottager; and this ſame cottager, who a little before had it in his power to contribute to the ſupport of the orphan or deſolate widow, muſt ſubmit now to a ſcanty pittance, or beg from door to door. When the honour of a golden Seat in another kingdom, and as the common people ſay, beyond the ſeas, is offered to view "what abuſes will not enſue,"—all the effects of pure patriotiſm this gentleman will tell us: as for my part I would know how to act, if I was at any immoderate expence to obtain ſo dignified a *Seat*; I would be ſilent on ſeveral occaſions, eſpecially when the intereſt of my country would be brought in queſtion, and if a *place* or *penſion* was offered to poor Iriſh *Pat*, ſurely he would * refuſe it.

Pray what preſentiment had you that the Iriſh Bar would oppoſe an Union? Becauſe, you ſay, it would put a ſtop to that Parliamentary

* An Irony.

tary market for their abilities. Look back and ſee, when was the Iriſh Parliament without Lawyers; look to the Parliament of England, is it without Lawyers; who can give counſel for the ſecurity of a ſtate; but thou who art moſt converſant in the laws and that ſtate? You give us to underſtand, that a man cannot be a Politician and a Lawyer at the ſame time. Does the Miniſter of England know Law? Yes, but he is no Lawyer; but you will tell me, he knows the laws of his country. If I believed in the tranſmigration of ſouls, I would not heſitate to ſay, that the old Stoic Criſippus, has *united* with you, in ſoul and body. Is it not evident and clear to every one, that your object for attacking the Iriſh Bar, is to prejudice the minds of the people againſt it? I aſk you as a man of honour, if you have any, who have a better right to know or underſtand the intereſts of this country, than the Iriſh Bar? they are in duty bound to their country—to ſupport it. Who, I aſk again, but the Iriſh Bar, can ſee the advantages or diſadvantages of an *Union?* and they have clearly ſeen the diſadvantage that would reſult from an Union.

Is

try. Is it to be ſuppoſed that an Engliſhman will be more intereſted for the independence of Ireland, than an Iriſhman? Do not you, when you talk of a Parliamentary market, caſt a ſtigma upon the Iriſh Houſe of Commons? Don't you openly charge the honorable Members of that Houſe, with *corruption?* 'tis an inſult upon the nation; 'tis an inſult upon the *Parliament of Ireland*; 'tis an inſult upon the *Iriſh Bar*. A *Parliamentary Market!* Yes, a Parliamentary Market. I ſuppoſe that by way of apology, you think that there are ſome men of the Bar, who will ſupport an Union, and that thoſe are gentlemen who have *thought moſt on the ſubject*; your words are verified,—* the *puny minority* of the Bar, are ſuch as have not extended their circle to *politics*; it is a doubt to me if ſome of them have worn the ſable gown and hoary wig three terms, or ever handled a brief, and thoſe are the gentlemen

* Perhaps the Supporter of the Union does not know that one of the puny minority has employed his time, of late, in compoſing a ſong called *The Grinder!* and that this ſame gentleman makes himſelf more buſy at aſſemblies, and flirting with this lady and that lady, than ſtudying the Law! He will be well rewarded, not for his talents. O Flirting Tom!

you tell us, who have thought beſt on the ſubject of an *Union!*—I did not hear the name of a *Saurin* mentioned amongſt our *young Patriots*; but has he not thought beſt on the ſubject?—Would to God that every Iriſhman poſſeſſed ſuch honor and patriotiſm.

The probability of a modus in tythes, the probability of the Iriſh Peers being repreſented like the Scotch Peers, the probability that Dublin will monopolize the coaſt trade, the probability of Cork becoming a marine ſtation, here are ſo many probabilities, heaped one upon another, without any degree of certainty. Mr. Locke, in his Eſſay on the Human Underſtanding, has clearly laid down the grounds of probability, and he ſays that we ſhould particularly attend to the teſtimony of others, as one of the principal grounds; now if we conſider your integrity and deſign, if you have delivered your ſentiments on an Union with a view of ſupporting the grandeur of your own country, as is evidently the caſe, this cannot be called integrity towards us; your deſign then is, I ſhould ſuppoſe, to have the ſecurity and happineſs of both kingdoms eſtabliſhed,

eſtabliſhed, your deſign is bad, becauſe as I have obſerved before, the people *una voce*, are againſt an Union, and when the people are unanimous in oppoſing any meaſure, ſurely peace and ſecurity cannot follow if it be forced on them; do you mean to *add fuel to fire?* if you do, I ſee no better way than this political plan which you have adopted. Would a ſecond rebellion, or perhaps a third, which I fear will be the reſult of an Union, ſecure the titles and properties of our temporal and ſpiritual Lords? an Union was the cauſe of two ſucceſſive rebellions in Scotland. Let thoſe who with to ſecure their perſons and properties, take but a retroſpective view of the fatal conſequences of that formidable Union; let not our Temporal and Spiritual Lords be buoyed up with the aerial and fantaſtic effuſions of an *Engliſh Patriot*, nor let ſhort-ſighted policy dictate ruin and deſolation; let not ſelf-intereſt overlook public advantage, while it clandeſtinely ſeeks for interlunary happineſs in the wild mazes of error and meagre policy. God forbid that men, who are willing to ſpill their blood in the wide Atlantic, or in the remote Eaſt and Weſt Indies, in defence of the King and Conſtitution,

Conſtitution, ſhould have recourſe to a more diſagreeable alternative. It would be a dear purchaſe to England, to cement an Union by a copious effuſion of blood; and may deſtruction attend the promoters of ſo horrid a deed. If England diſputes her ſuperiority with Ireland by land, what may be the conſequence? Keen-eyed France may look on, till both England and Ireland become exhauſted, and then indeed ſhe may eaſily make England and Ireland *one*, and *indiviſible*. Caſſandra often foretold the fate of Troy, but her predictions were diſregarded, till time accompliſhed them.

I have read of men in ancient and modern hiſtory, who had given up the independence, the honor and dignity of their country, to gratify pride and odious ambition, but I hope Ireland has not produced ſuch monſters; other countries have, and hiſtory records them as branded with every ſpecies of infamy and diſgrace. *O Fides!* O Honor!

Great and deluſive are your promiſes to the * inhabitants of Cork; it is no leſs than telling

* Tom Paine's pamphlets were never circulated with more induſtry, than the pamphlet "*For* and *Againſt* an Union," many of them are given gratis. O what a bait for Gulls!

telling them, that *probably* a dock-yard may be built there: I never before heard that England had any ſuch thing in contemplation, or that it was poſſible to make a dock-yard in Cork,—their trade of courſe muſt encreaſe. Is there any one merchant in Cork, if there was an Union to-morrow, and to ſee this country deſerted, or even not deſerted, would ſay, I muſt become more extenſive in trade and commerce? Believe me, that nothing but the compleateſt folly, and the greateſt degree of error, could make them believe, or give the ſmalleſt credit to any thing *our Engliſh Patriot* ſhould ſay. The inhabitants of *Cork*, as well as thoſe of all Ireland, were a long time excluded from a free trade; they were a long time governed by laws made in another country; they know how long Ireland, in the political ſcale of Europe, was looked upon with an eye of contempt; but now it is not the caſe, the inhabitants of Cork enjoy the bleſſings of a free trade; they are repreſented in their own country. But an Union will tranſpoſe and change the order of things. You are conſidered a proſperous people by all the world; and while you are proſperous remain ſo as long as you poſſibly can.

You

You forgot to tell Limerick how England behaved, while ſhe had a power of legiſlating for us. Did not England violate her treaty with Limerick? oh yes, you may ſay, but that happened a long time ago! *Oh punica fides.* How did England behave to us in reſpect to the Linen trade, which is our ſtaple trade, and why is it? becauſe ſhe failed in all her exertions to bring it to perfection in Scotland and at her own home.

But you did not forget to tell, and that in the moſt barefaced manner, that if there was an *Union* * and the country tranquilized, *taxes* would be lower, why was not this the caſe in England after the American war and when there was peace? did not the taxes daily encreaſe? After the American war the national debt of England was but inſignificant if compared to the preſent; but now you have boldneſs to aſſert in the face of Ireland, that if there is an Union and the country tranquilized, taxes will be lighter. The national debt is at preſent very great and will be greater, which if there

* A proprietor of a borough declared ſome time ago that an Union would completely deſtroy this kingdom; but afterwards upon hearing that 15,000l. would be given as a compenſation for every borough; ſaid, oh what did he not ſay!!!

there ſhall be an Union Ireland muſt ſhare in; I ſay then that it is impoſſible to have the taxes lower while the national debt is ſo enormous.

Your attack upon the volunteers of Ireland is the baſeſt and the moſt malevolent I ever read, it is degrading the human nature to find ſo much rancour and ſuch ungenerous principles in the breaſt of any human being. Who procured for us a free trade, and that power of legiſlating for ourſelves, but the volunteers of Ireland? a very pretty contraſt you draw between them and the United Iriſhmen. *Iriſhmen* learn the advantages and diſadvantages of an UNION.

Advantages. *A promiſe of an equalization of trade, which if England has a mind to break what is to prevent her.*

Diſadvantages. *A equalization of taxes and no redreſs.*

Advantages. *A promiſe of having the kingdom tranquilized.*

Diſadvantages. *A certainty of a ſecond rebellion if we argue from political analogy, as Scotland, United States, Corſica, &c.*

Advantages.

Advantages. *A modus in tythes.*

Diſadvantages. *It will make the land tax heavier, this modus could not be ſettled without an* Union, *no impoſſible! an* Union *will ſettle every Commotion. Oh infatuation!*

Advantages. *No more.*

Diſadvantages. *1ſt. A daily encreaſe of abſentees who will carry annually in addition to the old abſentees one million more; this will be then two millions of money going every year to England. Oh miſerable!*

2d. No longer a power of legiſlating for ourſelves.

3d. That independence for which we ſtruggled ſo long wreſted from us.

4th. Ireland a beggarly deſerted province.

5th. Graſs growing in the metropolis of Ireland.

6th. Tradeſmen ſtarving for want of work.

7th. Our univerſity deſerted, &c.

8th. Sharing in every debt that England incurs.

9th. England having it in her power to violate any promiſe. Oh unfortunate Ireland!

FINIS.

ERRATA. Page 4 Line 13, read *remains*.—P. 4 L. 21, read *be* after *poſſibly*.—P. 20 L. 24, a comma after *them*.—P. 21 L. 10, a mark of interrogation after *ſtrikes*.—P. 24 L. 5, read *thoſe* for *thou*.—P. 20. L. 6, *for and that* read *of that*.

12

THOUGHTS

ON AN

UNION.

BY

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THOUGHTS, &c.

HAVING a few Weeks ago, through the medium of the Hibernian Journal, ſuggeſted ſuch general obſervations as had occurred to me, tending to ſhew the Impolicy of an Union between this Country and England, and it having been ſince pretty generally underſtood, either that the meaſure had never been entertained, or was abandoned on the other ſide of the Water; I had nearly diſmiſſed the ſubject from my conſideration; but the Re-

port of an Union again aſſailing our ears, with increaſed Force and Authority, I cannot refrain from obtruding myſelf anew upon the Public, not from a vain imagination that I can produce any thing worthy of their attention, upon the ſubject, but from a deſire to provoke in others of greater Capacity, the Conſideration and Diſcuſſion of a queſtion, the moſt intereſting and important that ever offered itſelf to the deliberation of any Kingdom, and which involves nothing leſs than the preſent welfare and future deſtinies of our native Country. And in the firſt place, the following queſtions naturally occur; what may be the cauſe why this Country, which while inconſiderable in point of Population, Agriculture, and Commerce, hath had a diſtinct and ſeparate Legiſlature, ſhould now

with

with a Population of five millions of Inhabitants, with a moſt flouriſhing agriculture, and a greatly extended, and ſtill extending Commerce, reſign its legiſlation into the hands of another Country? Why that meaſure, which whilſt Ireland groaned under the reſtrictions on her Commerce, would have been rejected by her beſt and wiſeſt Stateſmen, ſhould be reſorted to at this time, when there is no permanent impediment to the career of her Proſperity? If it be anſwered that the preſent diſturbed ſituation of this Country renders a meaſure, heretofore ineligible, expedient and deſirable at preſent, beſides obſerving that the temporary and accidental ſituation of the Country, can be no ground for adopting a meaſure of ſuch magnitude, and novelty, and irrevocable in its nature! I further anſwer that I can ſee no connection be-

tween the evils which we deplore, and the remedy propoſed: neither can I perceive how the condition of this Country in point of internal tranquillity, would be influenced by an Union of the two Legiſlatures. Ireland having obtained that Commercial Liberty for which an Union was formerly conſidered to be the Price, and poſſeſſing an independant Legiſlature hath nothing to hope from an Union with England, which could not heal our religious Differences, nor extinguiſh the cauſes, if any ſuch exiſt, of well founded diſcontent in any Particular, it would indeed abſorb the queſtion of Parliamentary Reform, and together with it, the independence, the importance, and the dignity of the Country for ever. Indeed it is truly and candidly admitted by De Lolme, himſelf an Advocate for the Union,

Union, in his Strictures on the State of Ireland, "that the removal of thoſe impolitic commercial reſtrictions, and diſabilities which were formerly laid upon Ireland, and its conſequent extenſion of Trade, has entirely changed the ſtate of the queſtion, with regard to the expedience of an Union between Great Britain and Ireland; conſequently the greateſt part of the arguments uſed in ſupport of it, previous to that æra, as they tended to prove the advantageous effects to Ireland of ſuch an enlargement of Trade aſſumed as a circumſtance neceſſarily connected with, and reſulting from the Union, *are now inapplicable*; as on the other hand, the objections of thoſe who feared the pernicious conſequences to Great Britain, of allowing ſuch unlimited Commercial Privileges to the Iriſh

as

as this Union would create, are equally done away. The emancipation of the Commerce of Ireland, has proved experimentally to the Advocates for the queſtion that many of thoſe advantages which they deſcribed, can exiſt independent of an Union; and to its oppoſers that the diſadvantages apprehended from it to the Trade of England, have been in a great meaſure imaginary." *(a)*.

As to the effect of an Union in bringing Engliſh Capital into this Country, I obſerve that Iriſh induſtry and enterprize encouraged, have produced, and will ſtill continue to produce and augment Capital, and that Engliſh Capital, which is by no means indiſpenſable, will be attracted only by the aſſured tranquillity of

(*a*) Strictures on Ireland. *Page* 86.

of the Country, to which an Union doth in no wiſe conduce, but whoſe immediate conſequence would be to increaſe the number of Abſentees, already the bane of this Country, and in great part the cauſe of its occaſionally diſturbed repoſe. For that, an Union would produce a great addition to the number of Abſentees, cannot be doubted by the moſt ſceptical, and it is remarkable that the argument is uſed by the celebrated Dean Tucker, to induce England to an Union, for in his Propoſal for incorporating the Britiſh Iſles into one Kingdom, printed in 1750, he obſerves that, "the inducements of being near the Parliament, the Court, the public Funds, would bring many more Iriſh families to reſide and ſpend their fortunes here, than now do. In ſhort, whatever wealth Ireland would

draw

draw from other Countries by its produce, manufactures, and happy ſituation, all that would continually centre in England." He further adds, That the increaſe of wealth to Ireland in conſequence of an Union would enable her to eaſe England of the burthen of the worſt and heavieſt of her Taxes."*

Though I have no inclination to make the experiment, yet I cannot blame the Dean of Glouceſter for his advice, he was a man of moſt reſpectable character, and eminent for his political ſagacity and commercial knowledge; but he was an Engliſh Patriot, whoſe duty it was to prefer and promote the intereſt of his own Country, and perhaps, like another great man,

Mr.

* Strictures on Ireland, Page 93.——The Reader will bear in mind that Dean Tucker wrote this long before we had obtained a free Trade.

Mr. Gibbon, he conſidered Ireland as a *remote and petty Province*. By a peruſal of the writers in the ſiſter country upon the ſubject from Sir Matthew Decker to De Lolme, the curious reader will eaſily ſatisfy himſelf that all the arguments in favour of the meaſure, centre in the convenience and alleviation of publick burthen to England. The ſituation of Scotland, which is ſaid to have flouriſhed ſince her Union with England, is fondly quoted by the Advocates for that meaſure; but in order to draw any ſolid argument from the caſe of Scotland, it muſt be ſhewn that our ſituation is the ſame with that of Scotland at the time of her Union, and it muſt be ſtill further ſhewn, not only that Scotland hath flouriſhed ſince her Union with England, but that it was in conſequence of that Union that ſhe hath ſo flouriſh-

ed. The fact is, that the greater part of the Nations of Europe have flouriſhed ſince the period of the Scottiſh Union; from that time unto the preſent, there hath been a gradual improvement of all thoſe arts and ſciences which conduce to the proſperity of States. That England ſhould have ardently deſired the Union with Scotland, almoſt upon any terms, is not to be wondered at, ſince Scotland not having been prevailed upon to acknowledge the ſucceſſion in the Houſe of Hanover, upon the demiſe of Queen Anne, who left no iſſue, there would be a diſſolution of the only point of connection between the two kingdoms, namely, the Union of the two Crowns upon the ſame head, in which caſe the ſecurity of England muſt be eſſentially endangered, inaſmuch as ſhe would thereby ceaſe to have the advantage and protection of an inſular ſituation,

ſituation, and Scotland would be the landing place and rallying point of the Pretender and the French forces, and ſo ſenſible was England of her danger in this reſpect, and ſo anxious to prevail upon Scotland to declare for the ſucceſſion in the Houſe of Hanover, that in the ſeſſion of Parliament which opened in November, 1705,* a Bill was brought into the Engliſh Houſe of Lords, impowering the Queen to name commiſſioners to treat of a full Union of both kingdoms as ſoon as the Parliament of Scotland ſhould paſs an act to the ſame purpoſe; but if no ſuch Union ſhould be agreed on, or if the ſame ſucceſſion to the Crown with that of England ſhould not be enacted by a day prefixed, then it was enacted that after that day no Scotchman who was not reſident in England or Ireland, or employed in the Queen's ſervice by ſea or land, ſhould be eſteemed a natural

* Burnet's Hiſtory of his Own Times.

ral born ſubject of England: they added to this a prohibition of an importation of Scotch Cattle and of the manufacture of Scotland: this bill was rejected by the Houſe of Commons on account of the money penalties which were contained in ſeveral clauſes, but a new bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons to the ſame effect which paſſed: and when the Duke of Argyle was ſent down Commiſſioner to the Parliament of Scotland, which had met in the ſummer of the ſame year, his inſtructions were in the disjunctive, that he ſhould endeavour to procure either an act for ſetting the ſucceſſion, as it was in England, or that he ſhould ſet on foot a treaty for the Union of the two kingdoms: from which it is manifeſt that the great object of England was that, there ſhould be ſome ſolid ground of permanent connection between the two countries, which the Miniſtry of England conceived might be alike effected,

either

either by an act of the Scotch Parliament ſetting the ſucceſſion, or by an incorporating Union. At length in the year 1707. after a period of nine months which had elapſed from the commencement of the negotiation, this infinitely important meaſure of an Union to England, was finally compleated. It had met with great oppoſition in the Parliament of Scotland, where every ſtep that was made, and every vote that was carried was with the ſame ſtrength, and met with the ſame oppoſition; both parties giving ſtrict attendance during the whole ſeſſion, which laſted for three months; Biſhop Burnet the cotemporary Hiſtorian, and who took a great intereſt in this memorable tranſaction, after mentioning the attempt which had been made at Edinburgh to murder the Lord Provoſt who had been one of the Commiſſioners, and had concurred heartily in the deſign, makes uſe of theſe remarkable expreſſions. *No other violent attempt was made after this, but the body of the people*

people ſhewed ſo much ſullenneſs, that probably, had any perſon of authority once kindled the fire, they ſeemed to be of ſuch combuſtible matter, that the Union might have caſt the Nation into great Convulſions. The neceſſary precautions however had been taken; for orders were given both to England and Ireland to have troops ready upon call; and if it were neceſſary more troops ſhould be ordered from Flanders. The ſame hiſtorian obſerves that it was the unfortunate commercial ſpeculation on Darien in South America, the great charge it had put the nation to, and the total miſcarriage of that project, which made the trading part of that kingdom ſee the impoſſibility of carrying on any great deſign in trade, and made them the more readily concur in carrying on the Union. The wiſer part of the nation hoped that an union would prove the means of correcting among other grievances, the abuſes in the adminiſtration of juſtice

Burnet.

juſtice in their country, where judges who were named by the miniſtry, were in ſuch a dependence, that ſince there are no juries allowed in Scotland in civil caſes, the whole property of the kingdom was in their hands, and by their means in the hands of the Miniſters: that the proſpect of a free trade not only with England but with her plantations, and the protection of the fleet of England reconciled them to the meaſure: but ſix years had not elapſed from the concluſion of the treaty of Union, when at a meeting of the Scotch Members of both houſes of the United Parliament, in conſequence of a bill paſſed through the Houſe of Commons, directly violating that article of the Union, by which it was ſtipulated that no duty ſhould be laid on the malt in Scotland during the war, it was agreed to move for an act diſſolving the Union; and accordingly the motion was made in the upper Houſe of Parliament,

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and moſt of the Lords of that nation ſpoke to it. They ſet forth all the hardſhips under which they laboured ſince the Union, that they had no more a Council in Scotland, that their laws were altered in matters of the higheſt importance, and that now an impoſition was about to be laid upon their malt, which muſt prove an intolerable burthen to the poor of that country, and deprive them of the uſe of any other liquor than water: upon all theſe reaſons they moved for liberty to bring in a bill to diſſolve the Union, in which they would give full ſecurity for maintaining the Queen's prerogative, and for ſecuring the proteſtant ſucceſſion: this motion was of courſe warmly oppoſed by the Miniſtry, and rejected; and when the malt tax was brought to the lords, great oppoſition was made to it on account of its being ſo manifeſtly inequitable,

quitable, but it paſſed in the *United Lords*. Now not one of the already enumerated cauſes and motives which induced the Scottiſh Union, can be applied to the preſent ſituation and circumſtances of this country. For in the firſt place the ſucceſſion to the crown of Ireland is ſettled, and the permanent connection between the two kingdoms is ſecured by the ſtatute of Henry the Eighth in this kingdom, which declares the Union of the crowns to be indiſſoluble, and if the caſe of a regency has been overlooked by the ſtatute, there can be no objection to the bringing a bill into our Parliament, for the purpoſe of declaring the regent of England for the time being, to be ipſo facto regent of Ireland.

As to another cauſe which engaged the Scotch to be reconciled to the meaſure of

an Union; viz. the partial and oppreſſive conduct of judges intirely dependent on the crown; it is to be obſerved that the independence of our judges is now ſecured by Act of Parliament: and here it is that with pride and triumph we may congratulate our country, upon the ſtate of the higher tribunals in this kingdom: I will venture to aſſert without hazard of contradiction from any one converſant with the ſubject, that in no age of any country did the ſtream of juſtice ever flow from more abundant, or purer ſources: The appointment of ſuch perſons as fill the Benches of our ſuperior Courts, of characters eminent for their integrity and legal knowledge, is in itſelf a great *Reform*, and will conduce in no ſmall degree to the edification of the people at large. As to the other cauſes which prevailed upon the Scotch to ſurrender their independence,

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namely, the low and depreſſed ſtate of their commerce, and the impoveriſhed condition of their country, &c. It is only neceſſary to travel through this country in day light to perceive by what rapid ſtrides ſhe has advanced, in her commercial career, more eſpecially ſince the year 1782, that is, ſince the epoch of her commercial and conſtitutional emancipation. We may every where read in large characters the ameliorated ſtate of the public fortune, in the improved condition of our lands, in the increaſed number of buildings, both public and private throughout our towns, in the multiplication of elegant equipages, furniture, &c. and in the general appearance of ſuperior eaſe and comfort diffuſed throughout the lower orders of the community, and ſuch is the ſtamina of the public proſperity, that, like that of England, it has increaſed dur-

ing the war, ſo that upon a ſubject ſo obvious, I ſhall content myſelf with mentioning a ſingle inſtance: about twenty years ago and before that time, we imported corn for our own conſumption, to the amount of three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, annually, and we have latterly exported to the amount of one million annually ſterling. Ireland is now in poſſeſſion of that free trade for which an Union was formerly to be the compenſation to England, and of that trade to her plantations which Scotland ſought through the medium of an Union, ſhe already enjoys the protection of thoſe fleets which are in great part manned by Iriſh ſailors, and ſhe contributes, though indirectly, to the ſupport of thoſe wars in which ſhe is engaged through her connection with England, and chearfully engaged, from her

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ſenſe of the ineſtimable advantages attendant on that connection: But in truth there is no room for a parallel in point of ſituation between this kingdom, and a country rich indeed in the induſtry and ingenuity of her inhabitants, but of ungrateful ſoil for the moſt part, and not ſeparated from England by a greater feature than that which ſeparates parts of the ſame kingdom. It is true that an open arrayed Rebellion has raged in, and deſolated parts of this kingdom, and diſgraced the whole, but that Rebellion has been ſubdued, and a fine occaſion is now preſented to a ſkilful Legiſlature to repoſe the tranquility and harmony of the country upon ſolid and laſting foundations. Our Parliament may have committed errors, but there is a fund of good ſenſe and good temper in the country to correct them. Our Executive Govern-

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ment may have at times been ill advised, but there is a rational and unbounded confidence in the integrity and purity of motive of our illuſtrious Chief Governor. To the Yeomanry of the City of Dublin is the ſalvation of Dublin, and all its living conſequences to be aſcribed; and indeed to the Yeomanry of the country at large, and to that high ſpirit and ſuſtained energy which a ſenſe of national dignity and importance is ſo calculated to inſpire, is the country principally indebted for its ſafety. Far be it from me however, to depreciate the ſignal and deciſive ſervices of his Majeſty's regular forces; to the zeal and intelligence of the officers, to the alacrity, the courage, and perſevering patience of the men, every praiſe is due, nor can the nation ſufficiently expreſs its gratitude to the gallant Engliſh militia, who in the generoſity of their devotion to

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the general cauſe of the Empire, forgot the cold ſtatute which limits their ſervice to their own iſland, and reſolved that the enlarged ſphere of public duty was their native country. But ſuppoſing for a moment, that an Union were as advantageous to this country, as it appears to me to be pernicious, and even dangerous to the connection between the two countries, and admitting and reſpecting as I do the tranſcendancy, but not the omnipotence of the powers of Parliament, I cannot help more than doubting their competency to ſuch a meaſure, without the directly expreſſed approbation of the people. If able, and well informed men have balanced with reſpect to the Octennial Bill in England, if they have heſitated as to the power of Parliament to extend its duration even for a few years, what muſt be thought of a Parliamentary

mentary meaſure abolishing the Parliament itſelf, and transferring to another kingdom the right of legiſlating for this country.—It is ſurely the duty of a Member of Parliament to watch over and maintain the intereſts of his Conſtituents, and thoſe of the country at large, and how can he inſure the fulfillment of this duty if he ſubſtitute another Parliament in the room of that choſen by the People? or what right can he have to delegate a power which was only delegated to himſelf, or to transfer a confidence which is perſonal between him and his Conſtituents. If even concerning the ordinary buſineſs of the country, it hath been the opinion of the moſt reſpectable Members of Parliament in both countries, that the inſtructions of their Conſtituents, if not mandatory upon their conduct, were yet entitled to the greateſt reſpect; what

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muſt be the caſe with reſpect to the paramount meaſure of a fundamental change in the Conſtitution of the country. It may be remembered that during a debate which occurred ſome years ago in our Parliament, on a bill for preventing Revenue Officers from voting at Elections for Members of Parliament, it was contended on the part of Adminiſtration, and ſucceſsfully contended, that Parliament had no right to disfranchiſe men not convicted of any crime. If it was then conceived that Parliament, even for the ſake of maintaining its own purity and independence, could not deſpoil of their franchiſe a comparatively ſmall number of men, notwithſtanding the precedent of an Engliſh Act of Parliament, it ſurely will not be contended that Parliament can be empowered to do an act, which will render the franchiſes of the entire kingdom a mere nullity. The great ſecurity for the faith-

ful diſcharge of Parliamentary duty has been conſidered to be the limited duration of Parliament, whereby after the expiration of a definite period, the Repreſentative returns into the maſs of the community, and a new choice is given to the Conſtituent; but this wiſe precaution of our Conſtitution would be vain and ineffectual in the event of an Union, when the handful of Iriſh Senators would be emerged in the multitude of Engliſh Legiſlators. The effect of public opinion and cenſure, thoſe powerful regulators and controuls of human conduct, muſt be null in the caſe of an United Parliament, which would be placed beyond the ſphere of the operation of the ſentiments of this Country.

If, therefore, it be determined by the Engliſh Cabinet, to bring forward the meaſure

meaſure of an Union, let the Iriſh Parliament be diſſolved, and a new Parliament be returned, bringing with it the ſentiments of the country upon the ſubject; or let the Freeholders be convened in their reſpective counties and let the ſenſe of the nation be declared upon a National Queſtion of ſuch magnitude and importance: To this propoſal it may be anſwered, that the ſituation of this country at preſent will not admit of that agitation which muſt neceſſarily attend a general election and numerous aſſemblies of the people; and can it then be affirmed that that ſtate and temper of mind of the country, which cannot bear the exerciſe of the eſtabliſhed and acknowledged franchiſe and privileges of the people, is preciſely adapted to the Parliamentary diſcuſſion of a queſ-

tion which would at any time be attended with extraordinary agitation and ferment.

The ceſſation of courts martial ſhould be the ſignal for every well informed mind to rouſe from its lethargy, and to unfold thoſe powers of the underſtanding which had collapſed during the continuance of the Rebellion, and upon no ſubject more intereſting to his county can the enlightened Iriſhman employ his attention than upon that of an Union, which if it be a good meaſure for Ireland, it is only by examination and diſcuſſion that its advantages can be developed and illuſtrated; and if it be a bad meaſure it is only by the ſame touchſtones

that

that its injurious conſequences will be detected and expoſed.

It was to protect and maintain the *preſent Conſtitution* of Ireland that the aſtoniſhing ſpectacle of the Iriſh Yeomanry was diſplayed, it was to ſupport the King, Lords, and Commons of *Ireland*, that men whoſe purſuits and habits were the moſt abhorrent from the profeſſion of arms, became almoſt on a ſudden expert in military evolution and manœuvre, that perſons bred in all the eaſe and ſoftneſs of affluent fortune, voluntarily adopted the labours, the fatigues, and the privations of the military life during a ſtate of War that, confirmed habits of long protracted conviviality, were in a moment diſſolved and ſacrificed to the imperious circumſtances of the country: nor

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can it with any appearance of truth be affirmed that it was the conſoling proſpect of an Union which ſuſtained and refreſhed the occaſionally drooping ſpirits of the Iriſh Yeoman.

The more important and complicated the concerns of a country, (and they become ſo in proportion as it advances in proſperity) the greater the neceſſity for a Legiſlature intirely and excluſively occupied with the affairs of that country; and, I doubt whether a conſolidated Legiſlature ſitting in another country, could have poſſeſſed the means of a timely diſcovery of the late Rebellion, which was alone the cauſe of its not overturning the Government of this kingdom. If, as hath been aſſerted, the manners of the lower orders in the greater part of this kingdom

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are ſemi-barbarous—is the Legiſlature of another Country (for ſuch it would virtually be, notwithſtanding the infuſion of a few members from this country) unacquainted with the manners and habits of this, and with the changes which may occaſionally take place in both, or the Iriſh Parliament ſitting in the capital of the country, the beſt qualified to adopt meaſures to reclaim them.

It hath been obſerved by Mr. Gibbon when contraſting the political condition of the ancient Roman Empire with that of Modern Europe, that "the Chances "of Royal and Miniſterial talents are "now multipled with the number of its "rulers," in like manner it may be ſaid that, the chances of political wiſdom are now multiplied with the plurality of legiſlatures,

legiſlatures; and indeed our ſyſtem of Corn Laws, our Regiſtry Act, and other acts which might be cited, reflect honour on the Iriſh Legiſlation.

If there were any thing in the phyſical ſituation, or in the permanent and immutable moral relations and circumſtances of the two countries, (for none other can be a ground for an *irrevocable* meaſure) which required an incorporating Union; it ſhould have been atchieved at an earlier period of our hiſtory; for the habits of nations like thoſe of individuals become confirmed and inveterate by length of time, and it is not at this period of her political exiſtence, nor in this ſtage of her agricultural and commercial proſperity, that Ireland ſhould be required to fall back and ſink into the ſituation of a province. If

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it be a maxim that political innovations are dangerous, is the force of that maxim leſſened on account of the magnitude and importance of the meaſure, or becauſe that when once carried into execution it will not be in our power to retract it. Would it be wiſe in the preſent ſituation and circumſtances of this country to ſuperadd another cauſe of agitation to thoſe already in exiſtence? or will the propagation of French Principles amongſt the lower orders, be more effectually prevented by a meaſure whoſe neceſſary conſequence muſt be political apathy amongſt the high claſſes of ſociety? whilſt France with fervid hand is planting democracies all around her, ſhall we lend our aſſiſtance by removing from this country the *viſible ſigns* of the Engliſh Conſtitution? But I will yet hope, that no ſuch meaſure is really

in contemplation; I will hope that the Miniſter of England is perſuaded, as every man of common ſenſe in this country muſt be, that let the merits of the queſtion of an Union abſtractedly conſidered be what they may, the preſent ſituation of this country is moſt improper and unfit for their parliamentary diſcuſſion. And at a time when nothing leſs than an extraordinary Coalition of all the Powers of Europe is thought neceſſary to oppoſe the Coloſſal Power and gigantic Progreſs of the French; when we have been juſt told by a Miniſter * in the Engliſh Houſe of Lords, that notwithſtanding the Prodigies of her Naval Atchievements, England herſelf cannot be ſafe, unleſs France ſhall be effectually reſiſted by land; can this, I ſay,

* Lord Grenville.

I ſay, be the ſeaſon for making experiments upon the honourable Pride, the temper and the feelings of an Independent Nation? If, however, in defiance of the obvious dictates of prudence and ſound policy, the queſtion of an Union ſhall be officially brought forward, I truſt with confidence that both Nations will concur in the rejection of a Meaſure, the conſequence of which to Ireland would be the loſs of national honour, dignity and importance, and the increaſe of publick burthens and Abſentees; and to England the further deterioration of her own Parliament by the incorporation of ours.

FINIS.

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LETTER

TO

JOSHUA SPENCER, ESQ.

OCCASIONED

BY HIS

THOUGHTS

ON AN

UNION.

BY A BARRISTER. Wm Johnson –

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1798.

TO JOSHUA SPENCER, Esq.

SIR,

YOU have already given your name to the public as a political writer, and like an honeſt, though perhaps not like a wiſe man, have fairly avowed, in your own perſon the opinions you would wiſh to impreſs upon the minds of your countrymen. I therefore make no apology to you for this addreſs. I will treat you as you deſerve to be treated, like a gentleman of liberal manners and elegant acquirements, like one who ingenuouſly means what he openly avows, but at the ſame time with much greater reſpect for your motives than

your opinions. In truth it has been with this habit that I have ever liſtened to you. You know that you are not a man who wrap yourſelf up in myſterious ſilence, and might therefore paſs for a wiſe man, without really being ſo; you pour yourſelf abroad upon all occaſions, with a full tide of liberal communication. Whatever you are, you are known to be; no real depth or natural obſcurity prevent you from being perfectly intelligible. If you are not profound, you are at leaſt clear, and though I do not ſee much ground for vanity in your performance, there is ſtill leſs for mortification.

In compariſon with moſt men, you have many advantages; and on ſome ſubjects I know few men whoſe opinions I would prefer; there is a great difference,

however

however, between the underſtanding and the acquirements which are neceſſary to determine the conduct of nations, and thoſe which would enable a man to make a juſt compariſon between the eloquence of a Cicero and Demoſthenes, or to mete out the proportionate praiſe due to a Homer and a Virgil. You have, however, thought proper to reſign for a time your favourite ſtudies, and with a zeal, which I feel to be laudible or I ſhould not imitate it, have given your thoughts to the public upon a moſt intereſting political concern; you have ventured to ſupport this ſtrong and bold aſſertion, *that circumſtanced as Ireland and England now are, both with reſpect to their own particular internal concerns, their mutual relation to each other as connected kingdoms, and the particular ſtate of Europe at this*

moment, no poſſible Union of the Legiſlature of the two countries can be for the advantage of the former. This is certainly laying the ax to the root of the queſtion, and will ſave, if you are right in your deciſion, an immenſity of idle diſcuſſion upon ſubordinate details. By what proceſs of inveſtigation you have arrived at this concluſion, you have thought proper to withhold. You indeed talk of the honourable pride and the temper, and the feelings of an independent nation, of the loſs of national honor, and the increaſe of public burthens; but why our pride ſhould be wounded, our temper ſoured, our feelings hurt, our honor ſacrificed, or our public burthens encreaſed *beyond the probable increaſe of our reſources*, you have totally omitted to prove. Surely this is a queſtion which requires ſober diſcuſſion, not paſſionate exclamation.

We

We have been hitherto too much a people of ſentiment; good ſenſe and reaſon preſent too ſlow a march to the vivacity of our minds; and it is from feeling ſo much, and thinking ſo little, that we have made ſo ſmall a progreſs in national improvement. It is time for us to view objects through ſome other medium than paſſion and prejudice; if calamity could chaſten, and ſuffering make us wiſe, we have had our full ſhare of ſuch ſources of improvement. The hiſtory of this country, as long as its annals can be traced, furniſhes no other ſpectacle than ſuch as humanity muſt deplore, and philoſophy regret. A people divided and ferocious, a gentry ignorant and corrupt, an ariſtocracy inſolent and overbearing: all thoſe national evils which might be ſuppoſed to flow from ſuch conditions, overſpread a ſeemingly devoted

land

land—Religious feuds, and political animosities divided the nation—A combination of moral causes appeared to give perpetuity to these calamities. From most of these causes England was entirely free—hence alone that decided difference of character between the two countries. The reformation in the acmê of its zeal, when alone it was usefully and powerfully operating, did not reach us: it travelled to us in a state too languid to overthrow generally a superstition founded in deep and inveterate darkness. Hence as well the antient inhabitants of the country, as the English settlers previous to the Reformation in England, remained devoted to the Catholic faith: the descendants of the latter forfeited by subsequent events in a very extensive degree the estates they had acquired here; and were reduced to a similar state of po-

verty

verty with the original natives. The eſtabliſhed church was the religion of a ſmall minority, but that minority engroſſed the real property and political authority of the land. They were protected in the enjoyment of theſe by the ſtrong hand of England, and the enacting of ſevere and ſanguinary laws. The operation of all theſe circumſtances have unhappily contributed to form the Iriſh character. One leſs formed for domeſtic tranquility, or the purſuits of ſober induſtry can ſcarcely be imagined; ſome alteration in the cauſes which have produced this condition is devoutly to be wiſhed—to continue in a tract in which we hitherto have met with nothing but miſery and diſtreſs, would be ſomething more than national folly.

Some

Some ſtep muſt be taken, by which we may put an end to the operation of theſe cauſes, without introducing a more threatning danger. That thoſe cauſes affect our welfare with all their original malignity cannot be doubted. The late evidence we have had of the effect of religious and political rancour bear melancholy teſtimony of their ſubſiſtence. The outrages "*bella pluſquam civilia*," which lately diſgraced, and ſtill diſgrace us as a nation, will not be ſpeedily forgotten; while the ſame cauſe of alienation and hatred continue among us, we will ever remain the ſame divided unhappy and degraded people we have ever been. No alteration in our preſent laws, *while the mode of adminiſtering our conſtitution remains as*

it

it is, can ever remove them. The re-enacting of that code which kept the bulk of the people in ſlavery might, with the aſſiſtance of England reſtore a ſpecies of horrid tranquillity, the reſult of oppreſſion and of fear; even if this could be effected by the ſtrong *military* interpoſition of England, to what kind of condition would it reſtore us? let thoſe who recollect the ſtate of this country from the Revolution to the firſt relaxation of the Catholic code of laws, tell. Can any ſtate be imagined more calculated to deſtroy the energy of a nation? What then remains to be done? There is at preſent a ſtrong conteſt between the Catholics and Proteſtants for the civil authority of the State; the former, under the plauſible pretext of participation are ſuppoſed to aim at aſcen-

tendency in their turn; the nature of man, greedy of authority, the recollection of injuries inciting to revenge, the teſtimony of our own hearts telling *us* how *we* have acted, make this more than a vague unfounded fear. I aſk the Proteſtants of this Country, (and let them in anſwering it, take a diſpaſſionate view of the ſtate of this kingdom, paſt and preſent,) are they prepared, in *the preſent mode of adminiſtering the conſtitution*, either to grant or to withhold the claims which the Catholics now make for political power? The reſiſtance which they have hitherto given to the firſt part of this alternative is demonſtration of their opinion on that ſide of the queſtion;—can they then withhold them, and at the ſame time ſecure the peace and promote the proſperity of the country

country?—Let our preſent condition anſwer for them in this reſpect. To remain as we are, with our experience of the evils which preſs upon us, would be madneſs; ſome change muſt be made—ſome radical change which will remove the evil in the only permanent way by which ſuch evils can be removed, by removing the cauſe of them. This courſe at once wiſe and ſafe, (at leaſt more apparently ſo than any other which has been propoſed) conſiſts, in my mind, in the adoption of that Union with England, which you ſo ſtrongly reprobate. In any thing which I ſay on this ſubject, I do not mean to go into any details—the form and ſhape it may aſſume we are yet ignorant of, but to the principle of an Union, *circumſtanced as we are*, I am deliberately a friend.

The

The abſtract queſtion of Union, independent of all details and regulations, means nothing more than this; the having one Imperial legiſlature, conſiſting of king, lords and commons for the united countries of England Ireland and Scotland—one king, one houſe of lords, one houſe of repreſentatives. The progreſs of Britiſh power and glory has been from their firſt dawning, a progreſs of Union. This has been ſufficiently detailed in a very ſenſible pamphlet, which has already appeared upon this ſubject.

While the kingdom of England and Scotland were abſolutely ſeparated, there ſubſiſted between them a continued war, and a perpetual waſting of mutual ſtrength; even after the king of Scotland became king of England, their connection was a

connection

connection of diſtruſt, jealouſy, and mutual weakneſs. Inefficient as to imperial power, and ſubject to a thouſand contingencies; the happening of any of which might have ſeparated them for ever. Theſe objections were only got rid of by a Union. The progreſſive policy of theſe iſlands has been a concentration of their entire ſtrength by the gradual abolition of all thoſe circumſtances which tended to ſeparate and divide.—Cauſes both phyſical and moral rendered the attainment of this object a matter of neceſſary difficulty and delay. Common manners and general language, correſponding laws and ſimilar uſages were abſolutely neceſſary to effect this great end:—our manners, our language, our laws, and uſages, have been all progreſſively tending to this deſirable uniformity, and there is now exiſting no

moral

moral cauſe whatever why theſe kingdoms ſhould not be *one* and *undivided*.

We will ſuppoſe an enlightened ſtateſman, well acquainted with the bleſſings of the Engliſh conſtitution, deſirous of forming an efficient government for 14,000000 of people ſituate as the inhabitants of theſe countries are, and that his object was, as the object of ſuch a perſon would neceſſarily be, to encreaſe the power of the ſtate, and the comfort and happineſs of the people to the greateſt degree that both were capable of: and that local *pride* and *dignity* and *importance* were out of the queſtion, and that nothing but a common general intereſt was to be attended to; would he not ſay to them all, "*form one* government *that* is *neceſſary to your ſtrength* and ſecurity, form it upon the model of the Britiſh conſtitution, *that* is neceſſary to

your

your comfort and happineſs. Let your metropolis be where, from whatever cauſes, the greateſt number of *your* people are aſſembled, where the greateſt portion of *your* national wealth is accumulated, where the greateſt degree of trade exiſts, and where the majeſty and ſplendor of a *great nation* are beſt and moſt efficiently repreſented—Let every part of your extended kingdom have the means and the channels of induſtry thrown equally open to all—with the power of commanding the trade of the univerſe, identify your intereſts in ſuch a way, that petty jealouſies and local advantages may give way to a ſenſe of general proſperity. Be aſſured that in whatever portion of the *united* kingdoms wealth is accumulated, it will find its way through unnoticed channels and pervade and fructify the whole." United as the

kingdom

kingdom of England *now* is, does London feel, as any way detrimental to its intereſt, the adult proſperity of Briſtol, or the riſing and almoſt ſtriking commerce of Liverpool?—are the exertions of Mancheſter and Birmingham, where is realized the "*potentiality* of growing rich beyond the dream of avarice," reſtrained by the jealouſies of any other part of the kingdom? It will not be aſſerted. What is the reaſon for this want of jealouſy? becauſe a common legiſlature has but a *common* intereſt; becauſe the proſperity of Briſtol or Mancheſter is indiſſolubly connected with the reſt of the empire, makes of neceſſity a part of it, and is diffuſed, in its fertilizing effects, through the whole. So long as the kingdoms remain connected by the ſingle and precarious bond which at preſent holds them together, the leſſer muſt of neceſſity be ſacrificed

crificed to the greater ;—the *diſtinctneſs* of intereſt is perpetually before the eyes of the reſpective inhabitants. The idea of poſſible future ſeparation is continually in their view—the encreaſing ſtrength and wealth of the inferior country, render this idea at once more practicable and formidable. Its proſperity, is in ſuch a caſe at once a temptation to itſelf and to other powers. The wealthier country is not, cannot be blind to the poſſibility of ſuch an event—it is therefore its intereſt, ungenerous I will admit it (but the generoſity of nations is the dream of fools,) to reſtrain to a certain degree, this riſing proſperity. Even the extended view of liberal policy, (which wiſely grounds the general proſperity of an empire on the diffuſion of power and wealth to its utmoſt extremities,) is, in this in-

ſtance, curbed by jealouſy, and palſied by fear.

Before we can hope that England will promote our intereſts to the extent our ſituation is capable of, ſhe muſt be well aſſured that we make *part* of herſelf. We muſt be placed beyond the reach of foreign cabal, or the temptation to internal conſpiracy; theſe two are promoted by each other, and both ariſe from the ſuppoſed practicable diſſolution of that connection which now ſubſiſts between the countries. But we are aſked, "ſhall we lend our aſſiſtance to remove from this country the *viſible ſigns* of the Engliſh conſtitution?" at preſent indeed we may have ſome of the *viſible ſigns* but we certainly want much of the *inward* and *ſpiritual grace*; I mean

no

no unhallowed alluſion, for I conſider as almoſt *divine* the genuine ſpirit of that conſtitution. But I confeſs, I care not how far thoſe *viſible ſigns* are removed from me, provided I enjoy the ſubſtantial bleſſings which ariſe from their *exiſtence*. It is indifferent to me if I never ſee a king or an aſſembly of lords, or of commons, (for theſe are the viſible ſigns you allude to,) provided I know that my intereſt, in common with that of every individual in the land, is ſubmitted to the wiſdom of their councils. I would be glad to know what *viſible* ſigns of the Engliſh conſtitution have Liverpool, Briſtol, Birmingham and Manchester? the two latter have not even repreſentatives in the aſſembly of the nation. No king of the houſe of Brunſwick, that I know of, ever ſet his foot

in one of them, and if a Lord has paſſed through them, he has probably been like any other paſſenger, unnoticed and unknown. Have *they* ſuffered by this abſence of *thoſe viſible ſigns* of the Engliſh conſtitution? I apprehend not. Are we then to be treated thus like children, and is it to be ſeriouſly lamented that an Union will in future preclude us from the enjoyment of this *ſhew*? My idea of the *viſible ſigns* of the Engliſh conſtitution are very different from thoſe which ſeem to engage your imagination. I ſee them in the cultivated farm, the independent landholder, the comfortable artiſt, the wealthy merchant, in reſpect for the laws and their adminiſtration, in reverence for religion and its teachers, in the ſecure protection of life, liberty and property, and in that diffuſed

ſed morality, which reaching from the higheſt ranks of ſociety to the loweſt, connects them in one beautiful and harmonious whole. Here I behold the effects of a good conſtitution, well adminiſtered. To attain ſuch things I would ſacrifice much of form, much of pride, and much of dignity. You aſk * "what may be the cauſe why this "country, which, while inconſiderable in "point of population, agriculture, and "commerce, had a diſtinct and ſeparate "legiſlature, ſhould now, with a popu-"lation of five millions of inhabitants, "with a flouriſhing agriculture, and a "greatly extended, and ſtill extending "commerce, reſign its legiſlature into "the hands of another country." One would think from this ſtatement that the

* Page 2.

the project in queſtion was not a project of Uniting the two countries under a common legiſlature, of governing both by general laws, binding each ſeparate part of the common country, and extending equally to the whole, but a project at once anihilating both the form and ſubſtance of our conſtitution, leaving us no ſhare in the common concerns of the empire, but obliging us to fall back, † as you expreſs yourſelf; and ſink into the ſituation of a province.—I do not like invidiouſly to dwell upon our paſt or preſent condition—there is nothing in it that can ſoothe the feelings of an Iriſhman, or gratify that pride of country which it is at once honeſt and uſeful to encourage; but I aſk in whoſe hands has our legiſlature ever

† Page 32.

ever been. Except in the moment of general weakneſs and alarm, what will of their own were they ever known to profeſs. I aſk any reaſonable man, who has paid the ſlighteſt attention to the legiſlative hiſtory of this country, if the independence, honour, or intereſt of this kingdom would not be better mentioned by fifty or ſixty wealthy commoners of this country, ſeated in the general repreſentative aſſembly of the empire, with a due proportion of our peers in the Houſe of Lords, than ever they have been by theſe parts of that legiſlature which we ſo fondly call our own?— How are thoſe defects to be remedied? Is it by *Catholic Emancipation, and Parliamentary Reform?* Are we again to fight over that melancholy ground which, as a ſtage for combat has

been

been furniſhed to us by theſe watch words " of *treaſon*, and *rebellion*. Such, or at leaſt in part ſeems to be your opinion; for one evil which you charge upon this projected plan of an union is that it will † abſorb the queſtion of Parliamentary Reform, and with it the dignity of the country for ever; if the dignity of fighting this queſtion in the various ſhapes in which the adroitneſs of political combatants have hitherto dreſſed it be the only dignity which this kingdom will looſe by an Union with England, I care not how ſoon we ſtrip ourſelves of this melancholy grandeur, and aſſume the garb of induſtry and peace. I remember one occaſion more excluſive of that to which I have alluded above, when our parliament may be ſaid to have

† Page 4.

have had a *will* of their own, I mean the time when the queſtion of regency was agitated in this country. How nearly on that occaſion had miſchievous folly and corrupt ambition diſſolved the only bond by which the two countries were connected; had we been ſubject at that moment to the influence of French intrigue, what ſecurity had we for our independence in the wiſdom or honeſty of *our own* parliament? With ſuch an example before her eyes, while the connection remains ſo looſe as it is at preſent, can England make a common cauſe with us, or conſider us a part of herſelf. Can ſhe make this country a permanent ſtation for her fleets, while ſhe is ignorant how ſoon thoſe advantages may be turned againſt her, and ſwell the power of her moſt inveterate adverſary? With

what cordiality can we expect ſhe will aſſiſt us in our commercial enterpriſes, or promote a manufacturing ſpirit among us, when the wealth which may reſult from ſucceſs in thoſe purſuits may ſerve only as a temptation to ourſelves or to others in ſome hour of wanton *pride*, and fancied *dignity* to ſhake off a connection which the vociferating patriots of the day might call inſulting or degrading—but it may be aſked would a Union ſecure us againſt ſo fatal a calamity. Though I do not poſitively aſſert that it would, I have no heſitation in ſaying that it preſents many barriers againſt ſuch an event which does not exiſt in the preſent ſtate of things. In political reaſoning we cannot attain the certainty which we do in mathematical induction; it turns altogether upon probabilities, and the inveſtigator of ſuch queſtions can never preſume

to

to do more than ſtate which way and to *what degree* probability inclines; to me it appears that there is one circumſtance in our preſent ſituation which tends conſiderably to weaken, and might at length lead to diſſolve the connection between the two countries, and that is the idea of *diſtinctneſs* which is perpetually preſent to the mind both of the Engliſh or the Iriſh nation: every reflecting perſon knows the influence of habits upon men; I do not ſay that an Union would at once deſtroy this notion, but there can be little doubt that it would tend much to diminiſh its influence, and would in all probability in time completely efface it. There is nothing ſerves ſo much to keep alive thoſe mutual jealouſies, ſuſpicions and fears, which have hitherto contributed to mar the proſperity of this country as that idea of diſtinctneſs. The

progreſs

progress from distinctness to separation, from separation to hostility, was a beaten tract in which the mind travelled without difficulty or obstruction. These marks by which the kingdoms were meted out from one another will gradually disappear; the face of the countries, the manners of the people, their habits and opinions will from day to day assimilate, it will be forgotten they were once a distinct people or only remembered to enhance the value of the condition they will have attained. This is I confess the flattering point of view in which an Union presents itself to my mind, I dwell with fond anticipation upon this prospect of rising prosperity, and I keep no terms with that *false dignity* and affected *importance* which prevents it from being realized. That an Union will disappoint the interested views of many individuals, and perhaps affect the particular

particular interests of some districts of the kingdom cannot with any truth be denied. This will occasion a loud outcry against it, which if not sufficiently attended to, may be mistaken for the voice of the nation. I therefore caution the English cabinet, and the particular administration of this kingdom from giving too much importance to these factitious complaints. They will hear much of surrendered dignity, subverted constitution, and annihilated Ireland—every thing which can excite popular discontent and popular fear will be resorted to by these men. If there should even be found in the ranks of the opposers of this question, a man of acknowledged talents, great learning, untainted honour, and one from those causes possessed of high respect and great influence, let not the government hastily surrender

ſurrender the intention of ſecuring wealth and happineſs for a whole people, to the opinion of one man. Cato himſelf was not always in the right—the truth is that in all queſtions that afford a variety of views, in which they may be conſidered, and which from their nature do not admit of certainty, but furniſh plauſible topicks to ingenious minds, whatever view they take of them; accident determines our original opinions much more frequently than we are aware of the judgment of thoſe with whom we live and aſſociate,—the light in which the queſtion has been firſt preſented to the underſtanding, or habitual notions inſtilled early into our minds before we were capable of examination, all have their influence—the impreſſion once made, from whatever cauſe the whole power of the mind is directed to ſtrengthen and ſupport it.

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The clouds and darkness which originally rested on the queſtion are by degrees diſpelled, and the ſatisfied underſtanding ſees nothing about which to doubt or heſitate. You may aſk me is not this preciſely my caſe? I can only anſwer, I have endeavoured that it ſhould not.—I reſiſted my earlieſt impreſſions; motives of intereſt and deluſions of ambition, if they had been liſtened to, would probably have induced me to be the advocate of a different opinion. My underſtanding whatever it is, has had fair play, and I ſubmit to you and to the public, the conſideration by which it has been governed. If I could perſuade myſelf that an Union would ſubvert our conſtitution, I would reſiſt it to the laſt extremity—but I confeſs I ſee nothing in it but a different mode of adminiſtering that conſtitution

with

with many advantages in favour of the change. But we will be governed by English representatives—if they govern us as they govern themselves. I see no great reason for dissatisfaction. but what is the truth—in every representative government there is no part of it that is not governed by the rest, but the security of each portion, is that it must be governed as the remainder is governed—and that it governs in its turn—If the general interest be sufficiently taken care of by the adopted scale of representation, the security of the particular interest follows of course.—Once the Union is compleated there cannot be one law for Ireland, and another for the rest of the united kingdoms. When the terms of the Union are settled the government of the whole as far as is consistent with those terms must be uniform.

I cannot

I cannot entertain a doubt that when the particular plan of that Union, ſhall be known, it will be found that we are to have our own weight in the grand councils of the nations. A poſſible retrenchment of Engliſh repreſentation, which it could well bear, might diminiſh the numbers neceſſary to be ſent from this kingdom, and perhaps operate as a parliamentary reform which the preſent occaſion furniſhes an opportunity of effecting, without trouble or confuſion.

When I conſider the temper and diſpoſition of the inhabitants of Ireland at this day, the peculiar nature of their jealouſies and antipathies, long growing, deeply rooted, and now in full maturity, I ſee no hope of accommodation, or even of *ſecure doſility*, ſave what is preſented by an Union. If the Catholics ſhould be

admitted into the united legislature, (and that would be a policy at once wise and liberal,) their weight in the general representation of the kingdoms would be as a feather in the scale. All ground for dissatisfaction on the score of political authority would be removed, all possibility of encroachment on the Protestant establishment through the medium of an imperial Parliament utterly done away: their favourite argument of preponderating numbers dissipated in a moment, and the authority of our church, as by law established, secured for ever. If, on the other hand, a contrary policy should be adopted, and the Catholics should still continue to be excluded from seats in the legislature, a barrier of ten-fold the strength of any that now exists, would be placed between their hopes and the accomplishment of them; instead of a

native

native parliament, and a minority of fellow citizens, they would have to contend with the united legislature of the three kingdoms, with a majority of Protestants greater than their own boasted majority within this kingdom, and with the direct authority and power of the whole empire. The first plan of Union namely yielding to claims of the Catholics, would in my mind, effect the prosperity and happiness of this country for ever, and the last would secure at least its permanent tranquillity.

The condition of this country is this. We must either continue to refuse to accede to the claims which the Catholics make for a full participation of what they call their rights in the constitution, and so perpetuate the seeds of internal animosity and dissention: or we must yield

yield to their claims, under the obvious apprehenſion of riſking the Proteſtant aſcendency in church and ſtate, and, in the ſtruggle, even the additional hazard of diſſolving the connection with Great Britain for ever. Whichever of theſe courſes we purſue, we muſt remain a weak, divided, and diſtracted country, a prey to internal conſpiracy, and foreign interference. It is with nations, as with individuals, the wiſdom either of one or of the other uſually conſiſts in chuſing well between different evils. If an Union preſents a revolting picture to the imagination, and abounds with ſerious miſchiefs to our happineſs and proſperity, let it in the name of common ſenſe be rejected: but if it furniſhes the only means, as I humbly apprehend it does, by which the particular grievances of this country can be

mitigated

mitigated or healed, and holds out to us the reasonable hope of bettering our condition, and permanently securing our peace and welfare, in the same name of common sense, let us resort to it—in judging of it, let us, above all things attend only to the general interest, let our view of it be as comprehensive as the subject. Let our determination be the result of a calm consideration of the state of this country, of Great Britain, and of Europe—it will all be found necessary to a right judgment.

Permit me before I have done to take notice of two other objections which have been made to the accomplishment of an Union. I mean the oath which we took as Yeomen, and the competency of parliament to effect this change

change. The ſubſtance of that oath, (for I do not recollect the words of it,) bound us to ſupport the conſtitution and the laws. By the word conſtitution, I will admit, was meant *the conſtitution* by king, lords, and commons of *Ireland*; and by laws, *the laws* by which it was, then, or *might thereafter be ſupported* and *eſtabliſhed*. But ſurely in a great queſtion of this kind we are not to be entangled in a meſh of form. While we have a king, lords, and commons of Ireland, to take care of our intereſt, and regulate our concerns, I ſtill ſee the conſtitution of Ireland, it makes no difference in my mind, in eſſence, what ever it does in form, that the ſphere of repreſentative government is widened to the ſame extent with the executive authority, ſo as to embrace in its protecting arms the whole of theſe two iſlands,

and

and to give us *one* parliament, as we have *the* king. I ſtill ſee in this *that* conſtitution I was ſworn to defend, *that* mixed monarchy, the pride and glory of the world, not changed but ſimplified, not ſubverted, but renewed in another and a better form.

With reſpect to the competency of the legiſlature of the reſpective countries to effect this change it may be neceſſary to ſay a few words. I might object to this argument, that like moſt theoretical arguments, it proves too much: and is utterly inapplicable to the practical concerns of politics and government. If the want of competency in parliament to effect the propoſed change ariſes from this, that parliament cannot transfer a truſt which they hold merely

as a delegation, I anſwer, I admit they cannot do ſo without the aſſent, or againſt the conſent of the people whoſe repreſentatives they are; that aſſent is to be collected from the acquieſcence of the people, provided ſuch acquieſcence be not procured by fraud or force. It may therefore be ſafely ſaid, that whatever parliament *can do*, if fraud or force be not uſed to effect it, *they may* do. I know for my part, no limitation to this rule—there is no rule which ſecures to the people more completely their original right which this objection ſuppoſes, of forming a government for themſelves. I have ſhewn, I think already, that the conſtitution of this kingdom, in ſubſtance and in ſpirit, is not changed by the propoſed Union. While the conſtitution laſts, ſays Blackſtone "we may ven-

"ture

"ture to affirm that the power of par-
"liament is abſolute and without con-
"troul;" any other ſuppoſition includes in it a perpetually recurring diſſolution of the whole frame of government, reduces ſociety to its original chaos, and would make the wiſeſt and moſt neceſſary changes utterly impracticable.

I have given you the honeſt reſult of my own deliberate inquiry, I am at leaſt ſincere, however I may be miſtaken; I confeſs indeed I had much more confidence in my opinion, 'till I found I differed from a man whom you and I equally love and reſpect; from one whoſe opinion will have great and deſerved weight with the nation at large, with whom to agree would perhaps be my greateſt ſecurity againſt error, and whom

I would feel it my greateſt misfortune to offend. However, I now act in the capacity of a citizen, not a ſoldier. I have often *turned* at his word of command. But I know he will not think me wrong, at leaſt in my motives, if I refuſe to do it now.

I am, Sir, &c. &c.

FINIS.

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